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THE IMPACT OF CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING ON OVERSEAS ADJUSTMENT  
AND PERFORMANCE: AN INTEGRATIVE REVIEW

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June 1981

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To meet the objective, the project team examined relevant service and non-service research literatures. Literatures of particular concern were those focusing on types, processes, and the problems in implementation of various cross-cultural training programs; individual change factors; social support factors; and organizational factors. The literature review was complemented by intensive discussions with principal in-service users, i.e., Navy personnel associated with the planning, administration, and conduct of cross-cultural training programs.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY . . . . .	viii
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Overseas Duty in the Navy . . . . .	1
Criteria of Concern to the Navy . . . . .	1
Intercultural Interaction and Other Transitional Experiences . . . . .	1
Problems, Stresses, and Opportunities . . . . .	3
Coping with Stress in Overseas Duty . . . . .	4
Social Skills Training for Overseas Assignment . . . . .	5
Overview . . . . .	7
II. CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING FOR OVERSEAS ASSIGNMENT . . . . .	8
The Effects of Cross-Cultural Training . . . . .	8
Audiences for Cross-Cultural Training . . . . .	9
Basic Approaches to Cross-Cultural Training . . . . .	9
Information or fact-oriented training . . . . .	10
Attribution training . . . . .	12
Cultural awareness . . . . .	15
Cognitive-behavior modification . . . . .	17
Experiential learning . . . . .	19
The interaction approach . . . . .	23
Additional Considerations with the Use of Experiential and Interaction Approaches . . . . .	24
The Content of Cross-Cultural Training for Overseas Assignment . . . . .	26
Individual-level concepts . . . . .	26
Individuals' thought processes . . . . .	28
Group-level concepts . . . . .	29
Task-oriented concepts . . . . .	30
Organizational concepts . . . . .	31
Situational factors . . . . .	32
Groups in situations: Managing cross-cultural contact . . . . .	33
The Contingencies Determining Cross-Cultural Training Effectiveness . . . . .	35
III. INDIVIDUAL CHANGE FACTORS IN OVERSEAS TRAINING . . . . .	36
Behavior Change for Intercultural Adjustment . . . . .	36
Extinction-produced aggression . . . . .	37
Change in primary reinforcers . . . . .	38
Changes in secondary reinforcers . . . . .	38
Accidental reinforcement . . . . .	38
Learning of novel behavior . . . . .	38

Cognitive Behavior Modification . . . . .	40
Systematic rational restructuring . . . . .	41
Problem solving training . . . . .	43
Stress-Innocation Training . . . . .	45
Applications to Cross-Cultural Training for Overseas Assignment . . . . .	49
Systematic desensitization . . . . .	49
Simulation of aversive intercultural situations . . . . .	50
Modeling through imitative-observation learning . . . . .	51
Cognitive restructuring . . . . .	52
Stress-innocation training . . . . .	54
IV. SOCIAL SUPPORT FACTORS IN OVERSEAS TRAINING . . . . .	57
General Themes . . . . .	57
The nature of social support systems and the impact of their disruption . . . . .	57
The impact of social support systems on coping . . . . .	58
The impact of overseas relocation on social support systems . . . . .	59
The extended family, intimate relationships, and self-help groups . . . . .	60
Social support systems and enhancing opportunities overseas . . . . .	61
Social Support Systems in the Navy . . . . .	62
The nature and impact of social support systems in the Navy . . . . .	62
The increasing importance of the family in the Navy . . . . .	63
Social Support Systems and Training for Overseas Duty . . . . .	64
Social support skills as a content of overseas training programs . . . . .	65
Social support systems as the context for training . . . . .	71
Social support systems as a source of continuing training . . . . .	74
V. ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS IN OVERSEAS TRAINING . . . . .	75
Organizational Boundary Roles . . . . .	75
Stress in Organizational Settings . . . . .	79
Organizations as Cultures . . . . .	80
Specification of the task environment . . . . .	81
Formalization of the task environment . . . . .	81
Standardization of the task environment . . . . .	82
Configuration of roles . . . . .	82
The nature of the external environment . . . . .	83
Summary propositions . . . . .	85
Applications of Organizational Factors to Cross-Cultural Training for Navy Personnel . . . . .	85

Illustrations of Cross-Cultural Training Content for Organizational Factors . . . . .	87
Multicultural organization diagnosis . . . . .	87
Multicultural organization design . . . . .	88

REFERENCES . . . . .	91
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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Goals in overseas training for Navy personnel can include: (a) greater productivity, command effectiveness, retention, and reduced turnover; (b) easier adjustment to the normal stresses of overseas assignments; and (c) improved overseas diplomacy. The objective of this project was to examine the research literature relevant to the effectiveness of overseas training in terms of these goals. Specific aims were to document the effects, types, and usefulness of various training approaches; to document findings and techniques which can be readily integrated into existing Navy programs; and to identify lacunae which should become the focus of future attention.

To meet the objective, the project team examined relevant service and non-service research literatures. Literatures of particular concern were those focusing on types, processes, and the problems in implementation of various cross-cultural training programs; individual change factors; social support factors; and organizational factors. The literature review was complemented by intensive discussions with principal in-service users, i.e., Navy personnel associated with the planning, administration, and conduct of cross-cultural training programs.

Potential Benefits of Cross-Cultural Training

Cross-cultural training refers to short-term programs designed to prepare people to live and work in a culture other than their own. Such programs have the goal of encouraging participants to learn about (and sometimes experience) another culture so that they will be able to live and work effectively, with a minimum of stress, when they actually encounter the culture. Empirical research has documented a number of positive effects which stem from well-designed and well-implemented training programs. Beneficial changes in people's thinking include greater understanding of host nationals from the hosts' point of view; a decrease in the use of negative stereotypes; and an increase in complex rather than oversimplified thinking about other cultures. Attitudinal changes include better interpersonal relationships in workgroups composed of people from different cultural backgrounds; greater enjoyment among people who interact with hosts; and greater enjoyment of work in the other culture. Behavioral changes include better adjustment to the everyday stresses of life in another culture, better job performance, and greater ease while interacting with hosts as perceived by the hosts themselves. Cross-cultural training, of course, is no panacea and not all programs will have these beneficial effects. Much of the present report is devoted to documenting those aspects of training programs which can increase the probability of these positive outcomes.

### Types of Cross-Cultural Training Programs

There are six basic program types from which trainers can pick and choose. Actual choices depend upon the availability of materials, the amount of time for cross-cultural training, the number of trainers, the level of sophistication of trainees, and the countries to which people will be assigned. The six types are:

1. Information or fact-oriented training. Trainees are presented with various facts about the country in which they are about to live through lectures, group discussions, video tapes, and reading materials.
2. Attribution training. The attribution approach focuses on explanations of behavior from the hosts' point of view. Trainees read short passages which summarize problems people have while living in another culture, then make choices among a number of reasonable explanations. Only one explanation, however, is correct from the viewpoint of hosts. After studying a large number of such passages, trainees may develop internalized standards which allow them to understand many aspects of the other culture without imposing their own "United Statesian" standards.
3. Cultural awareness. By studying behavior and values common in one's own country, trainers using this approach hope to acquaint trainees with basic ideas about cross-cultural relations. The goal of training is to introduce knowledge about "culture" by asking trainees to study their own country; and to prepare people for life in other countries by introducing the nature of cultural differences.
4. Cognitive-behavior modification. In this method, well-documented principles of learning are applied to the special problems of adjustment to other cultures. For example, trainees might be asked to list what they find rewarding and punishing in their own country, and then examine the host country to determine how the rewards can be obtained and how the punishers can be avoided.
5. Experiential learning. The key difference between experiential learning and other forms of cross-cultural training is that trainees are maximally involved as participants. The goal of experiential training is to introduce the nature of life in another culture by actively experiencing that culture (e.g., field trips) or a functional simulation of it.
6. The interaction approach. People interact with host nationals or "old hands" during the training program. The assumption is that if people can learn to become comfortable with hosts during training, and if they can learn from old hands, then they will be able to begin productive work much earlier during the actual overseas assignment.

Table 1 (p. 27) summarizes the training methods and presents key information about goals, advantages, disadvantages, materials, training staff, caveats, and Navy audiences.

### The Content of Cross-Cultural Training

One of the richest, most helpful, but currently underused bodies of knowledge is concerned with the unique problems people face while adjusting to cultures other than their own. This is excellent content for cross-cultural training programs which can be presented through any of the six methods already reviewed. The issues people face while adjusting to overseas assignments can be grouped according to:

1. Individual level concepts, which include the personality traits, feelings of worth, attitudes, and values which people bring to their assignments and which are often considered during selection for key jobs.
2. Thought processes, which include the manner in which people make judgments about others and how they receive new information.
3. Group-level concepts, which include the number, type, and intimacy of face-to-face interactions; and the support groups which a person establishes to reduce stress and to discover key information about attaining one's goals in another culture.
4. Task-oriented concepts, which refer to aspects of jobs which are undertaken in cross-cultural settings. Examples are the degree of definition regarding what is to be done and people's coping processes vis-a-vis the inevitable roadblocks which they must face.
5. Organizational concepts, which include the level of funding for programs, support for one's work from administrators, and amounts of leadership and management training for cross-cultural situations which are sponsored by organizations.
6. Situational factors, which refer to combinations of people, places, and events which are regularly encountered during an overseas assignment. Key variables include the degree of stress present in a situation, presence of models who can demonstrate effective ways of handling problems, time constraints, and degree of similarity to past situations which were well-handled by a given individual.
7. Groups in situations: managing cross-cultural contact. Given an understanding of groups and situations, important combinations of the concepts can be used to analyze complex problems in other countries. Much work on overseas assignments must be done with hosts, and empirical research has documented the conditions under which Navy-host relations are likely to be most favorable. These include (as much as possible) equal status among Navy personnel and hosts; opportunities for close rather than superficial interactions; and the establishment of goals desired by all but which at the same time demand the combined efforts of people in both groups.

### Individual Change Factors in Overseas Training

A growing body of empirical studies indicates that individual behavior change can be integrated with cross-cultural variables to bring

about contextually appropriate modifications in human performance. Although they have been greatly neglected in cross-cultural training programs, the concepts of behavior change for intercultural adjustment may be considered broadly applicable to difficulties in adaption to Navy overseas duty settings. It is useful to think of the individual in the overseas duty settings as an experiment in which the language, body, memories, and skills of the person are held constant, while the external social situation changes in terms of behavioral expectations, social approval, demands for emotional control, and personal identity. In combination, the changes required under these circumstances constitute a powerful challenge to problem solving abilities and control over emotional states, which may have a direct bearing on job performance and morale.

Cognitive change and cognitive behavior modification approaches are clearly applicable to cross-cultural training for overseas duty assignments. These training methods are particularly appropriate for assisting persons who have to cope with complex and relatively unfamiliar situations, for persons whose previous learning experiences have ill-prepared them for functioning in new task-environments, and for persons who have experienced a combination of such factors. The intercultural adjustment tasks faced by Navy overseas duty personnel would seem to fit squarely with these conditions.

A variety of cognitive behavior modification methods may be potentially useful for inclusion in cross-cultural training. Systematic rational restructuring may be useful in creating realistic expectations and assumptions about the overseas duty setting which help in guiding behavior. Problem solving training may be helpful in providing a general coping strategy for dealing with a wide variety of intercultural problems. Stress inoculation training may also be applicable to those problematic intercultural situations in which heightened emotional arousal interferes with successful performance. All three approaches emphasize the teaching and transfer of techniques to trainees so that they can use them on their own in subsequent intercultural problem situations. Cross-cultural training programs that integrate these techniques are viable alternatives to current training methods, many of which have a fact-oriented focus and only incidentally include the coping skills that have been well developed and tested by cognitive behavior change research.

#### Social Support Factors in Overseas Training

Overseas training approaches typically fail to adequately deal with the broader social context in which overseas duty occurs, particularly in terms of social support systems. There are three major areas of direct relevance to Navy overseas training:

First, one of the primary sources of stress produced by relocation overseas is the disruption of a person's social support systems. Such systems can serve human needs for affiliation; reinforcement; recogni-



tion; affirmation; assistance in mobilizing psychological resources; sharing tasks; validation of perceptions, beliefs, and actions; a host of resources including money, skills, and information; advice in handling life situations; and sometimes just the sharing of experiences--positive and negative. Their disruption is often associated with a range of problems including psychopathology, adjustment difficulties, dissatisfaction, poor job performance, and poor job retention.

Second, one of the primary strategies for coping with the greater stress involved in overseas duty is the utilization of available social support systems such as the family, friends, neighbors, work associates, religious groups, recreational and educational associations, formal and informal counselors, and mutual assistance associations. They can provide information about problems, resources, and opportunities in the overseas site; they can provide a source of feedback about perceptions of and interactions with other cultures; they can provide ideological validation and a source of comfort or rest from the stress and fatigue of dealing with a new environment; and they can provide companionship in exploring that environment and share the opportunities and responsibilities of handling it.

Third, social support systems like the family are frequently hindered in providing adequate support overseas because they, too, are often under a great deal of stress and are not functioning optimally.

An accumulating body of behavioral sciences research indicates that social support systems can play several key roles in overseas training programs:

First, such systems can serve as an important content area in training. For instance, programs can include training on what social support systems, the alternative systems that are available in an overseas duty situation, how to get involved in them, how they can be used effectively to reduce stress or to maximize opportunities, and how to maintain them. Programs must be tailored to a number of contextual variables including type of duty (e.g., high impact, shore duty, homeported units, or deploying units) and the trainees' marital status, ethnicity, and sex.

Second, social support systems themselves can provide a context for training. Since the family or work group will be functioning overseas together, joint training would both facilitate training effectiveness and strengthen the social unit. Rather than focusing training on individuals and limiting training to individual-level social skills, training can more effectively be focused on meaningful social units which comprise social support systems and be expanded to include group based social skills. That is, individuals can be trained as a unit with training focusing on increasing sensitivity to several variables related to the group functioning overseas. This training can involve a number of different types of social systems including cohort units, work units, family units, and specially defined units based on ethnicity, sex, or special interests.

Third, social support systems can be a source of continuing programs offering supplementary training. For example, after formal overseas training has terminated, church, educational, or residential groups can continue to incorporate cross-cultural orientation along with their other activities.

#### Organizational Factors in Overseas Training

The larger organizational context within which persons on overseas duty function is among the least considered aspects of cross-cultural training. Command and high impact personnel who are responsible for managing organizational levels of operation may improve their own and other's performance by more detailed study of organizational factors in their overseas orientation training.

The emerging literature on organizational boundary role functions suggests that organizations which operate in different culture settings may want to create new and unique roles. The increasing interaction between Navy and civilian organizational structures involving transfer of services, information, and resources across their boundaries also indicates specific consideration of organizational boundary functions when new bases of operation are being created in previously unfamiliar culture settings.

Consideration of the various stresses in organizations and the role of organizations as cultures may also have as yet untapped potential for improving productivity in the overseas duty setting. Not only do the various duty settings differ in the degree of contact with the local culture, but also in the degree of change required to adapt to new environmental contingencies in facilitating performance. Organizations may be viewed as cultures with unique social groupings, rule systems, peculiar languages, legitimate activities, and value systems related to the central task of the organization. Changing duty settings means that personnel have to learn the new culture of the duty setting, as well as the local culture in which it is located.

The content of cross-cultural training for organizational factors is probably most appropriate for command and high impact personnel. Training for organizational diagnosis may be considered in which cross-cultural perspectives are taught for clearly identifying variations in work-related behaviors. Insofar as concentration of authority and the structuring of work activities can be varied in different overseas duty settings, skillful use of cross-cultural understanding of organizational design factors may have a significant influence on collective performance and may increase overall organizational effectiveness.

#### Conclusions

Our primary task was to examine the broad literature in the behavioral/social sciences for a selective review relevant to overseas

training. Considering the broad range of material reviewed in the full report, we have selected the following issues for particular emphasis.

1. In programs to prepare the actual cross-cultural trainers, all of the six training approaches could be covered so that people can pick and choose given the exact training situations they face in their actual work. In their choices, trainers can take into account different task environments, job assignments, and type of audience (e.g., Navy personnel, dependents, hosts).
2. In programs to prepare trainers, and in longer programs for various categories of Navy personnel, the recent research literature on the problems faced on overseas assignments could be covered. The content areas within this literature (e.g., thought processes, groups, situations) provides a good checklist for consideration of adjustment in specific places.
3. While we feel that a great deal is known about the general categories of problems people encounter (#2 above), much less is known about specific problems in a given duty environment. Consequently, information about specific task environments cannot be presented during training. Attention on this point could also be given to emerging task environments (e.g., Indian Ocean, Mainland China). In places where there has been little previous contact with the Navy, cultural variables will play a large role in acceptance of Navy personnel, adjustment, overseas diplomacy, and productivity.
4. More attention could be given to the easy access, greater availability, and self-instructional formats of cross-cultural training materials.
5. People who have extensive cross-cultural experiences may reap benefits such as broader perspectives on important problems and greater enjoyment from their overseas assignments. More attention could be given to those Navy personnel who want to learn a great deal about other cultures, above and beyond the information presented in general briefings.
6. In training, more emphasis can be given to the skills for dealing with various task environments in addition to the information which is often the sole focus of training.
7. Those skills should be both culture specific (e.g., skills for dealing with a specific problem in a given country) and more generic (e.g., how to find out what the key stressors in a difficult situation are; identifying alternative responses to those stressors).
8. Our general perspective is that Navy personnel assigned overseas must be provided with the high level of social support requisite for personal adjustment and productivity in any environment. However, overseas personnel are often exposed to differences in culture, climate, and topography that put special burdens on support systems. Thus, personnel are likely to have a greater need for those systems and, at the same time,

are less able to find or develop them for themselves. Serious consideration of the role of social support systems in overseas adjustment should ease over-reliance on formal overseas training programs and other service delivery programs and, at the same time, further more sophisticated use of those programs and better incorporation of social support systems in a total training package.

9. Training is sometimes narrowly conceptualized and poorly integrated with overseas duty. More attention can be given to the relationships among predeparture training, on-site training, follow-on training, and the unique problems of specific duty assignments.
10. More attention could be given to the cost-benefit ratio of different training content areas aimed at different target audiences. As yet, there are no good answers to these questions:
  - a. Should intensive training be given to people in the upper levels of the enlisted ranks who are in sensitive positions and who can become role models for other enlisted personnel?
  - b. What is the command's role in supporting training, and what is training's role in supporting the command in maximizing overseas diplomacy, organizational effectiveness, and productivity?

These issues relate to the need for a broader conceptualization of overseas training (as pointed out above in #9).

## I. INTRODUCTION

### Overseas Duty in the Navy

Overseas duty is critical to the Navy in terms of both the effectiveness of its mission and the quality of life of its personnel. Over 80,000 active duty Navy personnel, command sponsored dependents, and civilian employees are living overseas, and about 100,000 Navy personnel visit foreign ports yearly during routine deployments (ONSP, 1980). These personnel and their dependents are distributed over seventy overseas sites representing a range of cultural, geographic, topographic, and climatic contexts as diverse as Rota, Spain; Yokosuka, Japan; Keflavik, Iceland; Subic Bay, Philippines; and Diego Garcia. Their degree of exposure to, and involvement with, each site varies with the nature of their duty. They can be assigned to shore activities, homeported units, deploying units, or high impact positions like attaches. Involvement can also vary, of course, with personal inclination or the inclination of host nationals. Nevertheless, overseas duty frequently involves interaction with a culture quite different from their own. The extent to which they can successfully cope with the tasks of duty, living, and family in the new culture is likely to affect their satisfaction with the Navy as a career, the command effectiveness of the Navy itself, and diplomatic relations with host nationals. This report presents an integrative review of literature appropriate to that effect and to the development of training programs to maximize skills for working and living overseas.

### Criteria of Concern to the Navy

Research suggests that intercultural interaction brought about by overseas assignment is likely to have a probable effect upon three categories of criteria of concern to the Navy. The first category consists of organizational criteria such as task productivity, command effectiveness, turnover, morbidity, and retention. These are criteria directly related to the successful performance of the Navy mission. The second category consists of personnel criteria such as satisfaction with the Navy, personal adjustment, family adjustment, and social adjustment. Also included in this category are the debilitating effects of substance abuse, crime, family strife, health and mental health problems, interethnic relations, etc. These criteria are important not only in and of themselves but also important in terms of their mediational impact upon organizational criteria. The third category consists of diplomacy criteria and includes the nature and positivity of relations with host nationals both on an individual and a community level. Again, while this category is important in and of itself, it is likely to affect organizational criteria as well.

### Intercultural Interaction and Other Transitional Experiences

Cultures can differ in perception, communication, and activity along

a number of dimensions significant to adjustment and task effectiveness, e.g., the importance of being on time, the value of personal property, health practices, symbols of achievement, preferred modes of learning and teaching, decision making processes, steps in conflict resolution, and the nature of work and social relationships. Frequently, further differences in clothing, climate, food, population density, and topography can exacerbate adjustment problems. The rapid contemporary increase in intercultural interaction both domestically, as a function of immigration and integration, and internationally by businesspersons, students, tourists, sojourners, professionals, and others, and the recognition of the intercultural problems frequently encountered have spawned a concomitant increase in theory, research, and training programs directed at improving interaction effectiveness (see Brislin, 1981; Brislin & Pedersen, 1976; Casse, 1980; Harris & Moran, 1979; Hoopes, Pedersen, & Renwick, 1977-1978; Triandis, 1975). Because the study of intercultural interaction is relatively new and there are difficulties associated with its interdisciplinary nature, specialization in the field is relatively undeveloped. Theory and research need to be selectively reviewed, integrated, and applied in order to maximize program effectiveness.

The Navy has sponsored the research and development of cross-cultural training techniques (e.g., Fiedler, Mitchell, & Triandis, 1971) and has initiated an intercultural relations program for Navy personnel (Newman, 1968). This program has evolved through a number of iterations since the late 1960s and is currently known as the Overseas Duty Support Program (ODSP). The ODSP is designed "to ensure that each unit which calls on foreign ports and each established overseas activity is supported in the host country environment" (ODSP, 1980). Its components focus upon screening, sponsors, an Overseas Transfer Information Service (OTIS), cross-cultural training, and language training.

A useful perspective from which to view overseas assignment and the associated intercultural interaction is as a specific instance of a more generic category of transitional experiences (Adler, 1975) or transitional states (Weiss, 1976) in which movement from one life situation to another is accompanied by changes in perceptions, values, activities, expectancies, forms of communication, social support, and the familiar physical environment. Such experiences can be associated with changing jobs, going into or out of prison, entering or leaving college, boot camp, returning veterans, getting married or divorced, or just becoming older.

Adler has identified five phases of the transitional experience which have both descriptive and analytic usefulness. They include: an initial contact phase associated with excitement, exploration, and fun in which the focus is on cultural similarities and non-threatening differences; a disintegration phase in which perception of differences becomes inescapable and the person becomes confused, disoriented, and unable to respond appropriately with consequent feelings of isolation, inadequacy, vulnerability, fear, and stress; a reintegration phase in which understanding replaces confusion but is associated with rejection

of the new culture or role through anger, derogation, and stereotyping; an autonomy phase in which the person becomes more sensitive to the new environment, more relaxed, and more effective in performing required tasks; and an independence phase in which the person is less judgmental and more relativistic in orientation. Such "multicultural persons," presumably, are also better suited to deal with subsequent transitional experiences. Brislin and Van Buren (1974), Dorman (1977), Werkman (1980), and others emphasize another phase that is often overlooked--returning home. Problems associated with returning home are less often anticipated and, perhaps because of that, more severe than that of leaving. While home may or may not have changed, the sojourner usually has and readjustment can be difficult.

### Problems, Stresses, and Opportunities

Transitional experiences often produce stress associated with loss of an ability to predict and respond appropriately to the environment, with new stimuli having little or ambiguous meaning, and with misunderstanding new and diverse experiences. If the stress occurs when encountering a new culture, it is commonly referred to as "culture shock" or "culture fatigue" and is often associated with feelings of helplessness, inadequacy, irritability, fear of being taken advantage of, hostility, vulnerability, and depression. Reactions can vary from aggression to restlessness to impulsiveness to withdrawal and are frequently of problematic effectiveness. Such experiences are common in the military partly because of the frequency of relocation (Darnauer, 1976; McKain, 1976). Those relocated overseas are particularly susceptible (Croan, Katz, Fischer, Smith-Osborne, & Dutton, 1980; McCubbin, Dahl, & Hunter, 1976).

Research over the past several years has consistently indicated that stress can have important debilitating effects on health, mental health, personal and social adjustment, satisfaction, learning, and task productivity. The effect on productivity can either be direct or mediated through health, adjustment, satisfaction, and learning variables. For instance, although research in organizational psychology has generally found the relationship between satisfaction and productivity to be far from simple, there are identifiable conditions in which satisfaction does affect productivity and related criteria such as turnover, absenteeism, accidents, illnesses, grievances, disruption, sabotage, and slow downs (Bass & Ryterband, 1979; Johansen, 1978; Kelly, 1980). Partly because of difficulties in conceptualizing and operationalizing productivity and related criteria in public versus private sectors, drawing conclusions from non-military contexts concerning the relation between stress produced by overseas duty and criteria of concern to the Navy is complex. More research focused specifically on military contexts is required, although there have been some recent studies, particularly on retention. For instance, Orthner (1980) found satisfaction with relocations to have an effect on retention attitudes of Air Force personnel; while Grace, Holoter, and Soderquist (1976) found several aspects of career satisfaction to influence actual retention of Navy enlisted personnel.

While transitional experiences can produce stress, and most concern has been focused on the consequences of that stress, we should emphasize that these same experiences can also provide the opportunity and impetus for culture learning, positive encounters, reduced prejudice, and personal growth. The same failure in social perception verification that produces stress can also produce a strain toward new ways to perceive the world which is the essence of personal growth. Maximizing these positive effects of overseas duty are also likely to have a significant impact on Navy criteria. This effort would seem particularly appropriate given recruitment campaigns stressing adventure, growth, and quality of life. Research indicates these positive effects can occur (e.g., Darnauer, 1976; McCubbin et al., 1976; McKain, 1976). Thus training in support of overseas duty should not only focus on developing skills to minimize problems but also to maximize opportunities--the basis of effective behavior in any context.

#### Coping with Stress in Overseas Duty

The manner in which people respond to stress depends upon who they are and their situational context, e.g., students, corporate executives, migrant workers, military families, victims of disasters, etc. However, examination of the literature reveals several stress moderating variables common to the types of adjustment required in overseas duty contexts (for examples, see Coelho, Yuan, & Ahmed, 1980; Sarason & Johnson, 1980; Weiss, 1976; Werkman, 1980). The variables include: (1) relatively stable personality characteristics such as locus of control, tolerance for ambiguity, sensation seeking, and prior experience responding to similar stress situations; (2) availabilities of and participation in social, physical, and economic support systems; (3) acquisition and utilization of information about community resources, cultural differences, likely problems, etc.; and (4) the anticipation of problems, identification of options, and rehearsal of behaviors. For the purposes of the Navy, this schema suggests the basic components required for optimal support of overseas duty: (1) screening of personnel on empirically defined personality, social, biographic, and demographic characteristics related to successful overseas adjustment and performance; (2) provision of social, physical, and economic support including family and social programs, housing, pay, allowances and benefits for relocation, length of duty assignment, etc.; (3) provision of advance information about the overseas duty site and resources available; and (4) training in the skills necessary for living and working effectively overseas including dealing with cultural differences and the development of social support networks.

An assessment of the status of screening for overseas duty in the Navy has recently been completed (Benson, Hare, & Tucker, 1980). The need for social, physical, and economic support has also received recent attention particularly with respect to family assistance (Dorman, 1977; Final Report on Navywide Family Awareness Conference, 1978; Hunter, 1978; Marsh, 1976). The Navy is currently placing emphasis on its family programs. Advance information about the overseas site is



provided by OTIS and Sponsor Programs as part of the ODSP. The fourth component of support for overseas duty involves training, also a component of the ODSP and the major focus of this integrative review.

### Social Skills Training for Overseas Assignment

In order to moderate stress and maximize the opportunities associated with overseas assignment, programs are needed to train personnel in assessing intercultural situations, identifying the range of behavioral options available, selecting the most effective options, and acting appropriately. In other words, we must teach people to perceive the situation appropriately, to plan an appropriate behavior strategy, and then act accordingly. This need describes the essence of a relatively recently developed orientation to training, variously labeled as training in social skills (Singleton, Spurgeon, & Stammers, 1980), social competence (Argyle, 1980), or environmental competence (Steele, 1980).

Social skills training is historically a merging of the interests and methods of human factors psychologists concerned with man-machine systems and social psychologists concerned with coping and task-oriented skills (Singleton, 1980; Welford, 1980). Much of the conceptual basis was developed by Crossman (e.g., 1960) and Argyle (e.g., 1967) in Great Britain. From this orientation, effective performance is determined by the demands of the task, the capacity of the performer, and the strategies the performer uses to relate demands to capacities. Skill or competence is defined as the use of efficient strategies (Welford, 1980) or the ability to deal with the environment in an effective and stimulating manner (Steele, 1980). The central feature in most training models is a feedback process in which goal directed behavior is continuously monitored and behavior modified as a function of feedback, although there are less cybernetic and more conditioning, experiential, or teleological paradigms as well (see Ellis, 1980; Ivey, 1971; McDonald, 1973).

Most models include a perceptual, a cognitive, and a performance or behavior component each with identifiable skills (e.g., Trower, 1980). Examples of perceptual skills would be sensitivity to the emotions, attitudes, and intentions of other people; situational constraints; opportunities and demands; self-awareness; and awareness of the self from the perspective of others. Examples of cognitive skills would be identification of alternative behavioral options, selection of appropriate role models, understanding reciprocal behavior systems, and contingency planning. Examples of behavioral skills would involve self-presentation, appropriate verbal and nonverbal behavior, nurturance, ritual sequences, and meeting people. Steele (1980) notes that cutting across perceptual, cognitive, and behavioral skill dimensions is a content-process differentiation. That is, some training focuses on perceptual, cognitive, or behavioral skills appropriate to a specific setting. Other training focuses on processes useful in dealing with any problematic situation.

The distinction between knowledge about a particular setting and knowledge about the processes for finding out about settings is an important one. The first is essentially the focus of what has been termed a "culture specific" training approach (Brislin & Pedersen, 1976), i.e., the trainee is taught information about survival in a specific culture which includes information on the language, values, lifestyle, and social patterns, etc. of that culture. This type of training can be quite useful, at least in the short-term, if the host culture is relatively homogeneous so that culture specific information is in fact broadly applicable. The second type of knowledge is the focus of a "culture general" approach to training (although the term is sometimes used to describe training which teaches the sojourner self-awareness about his or her own cultural orientation that presumably will be useful in better recognizing and reacting to differences in other cultures). Steele stresses that knowledge about process skills can be useful for finding out about the key dynamics in any setting quickly and effectively. These skills include scouting, exploring, making contact, observing, rehearsing, and testing which are the essence of a social skills training approach. This type of knowledge is particularly useful in the long run, in which settings are culturally complex or changing or in which the person must go from one culture to another with inadequate opportunity for culture specific preparation. While the process approach may require more initial innovativeness in training techniques, in the long run it may be both more efficient and effective. In essence, it gives every sojourner the skills to be his or her own trainer, and the culture specific knowledge is then acquired while actually immersed in the host culture or cultures. Additionally, and critically, the process approach allows the sojourner to learn cultural specific knowledge which is appropriate to his or her own personal or subcultural characteristics rather than just to "Americans" or "Westerners."

While situation or culture specific content in training is certainly useful, we feel that process training is perhaps more so. That is, it is critical to teach people how to perceive problematic situations in whatever culture they find themselves, to identify and plan appropriate behavioral strategies, and to develop the behavioral skills to carry out those strategies. This is particularly the case for the Navy. Career Navy personnel are likely to be confronted by several cultures over time to which they must respond appropriately in order to live and work effectively.

There is a considerable and growing body of data indicating that the social skills training model is effective in a wide range of contexts including use in clinical therapy; use with delinquents and prisoners; for teachers; in improving social interaction skills, listening skills, or self-control skills; and in stress reduction (for reviews, see Argyle, 1980; Ellis, 1980; Griffiths, 1980; Phillips, 1980; Shepherd, 1980; Steele, 1980). For that reason, each section of this review emphasizes material judged to facilitate development of social skills training programs designed to have maximum usefulness vis-a-vis criteria of concern to the Navy.

## Overview

This introduction has stressed the importance of overseas duty in the Navy, the intercultural nature of the overseas experience, the problems and opportunities presented by that experience, the value of overseas training programs in aiding effective coping and to further organizational, personnel, and diplomacy criteria of concern to the Navy, and the role which the development of social skills or environmental competencies can play, as a focus of that training. Section II looks at contemporary approaches and contents of cross-cultural training programs with particular concern for highlighting implications for training in skills effective in overseas assignment. Section III reviews the individual behavior and cognitive change literature for implications appropriate to overseas training perspectives, methods, and contents. Little of this material has previously been incorporated into overseas training programs although it has been found to be very useful in a variety of other contexts. The likelihood of productive transference to overseas training is high--particularly with respect to training in social skill processes associated with cognitive and behavior change, problem solving, and stress reduction overseas. Section IV on social support systems focuses on the roles which social, rather than individual, factors can play in maximizing adjustment and productivity overseas. Attention is paid to the multiple roles of these factors in overseas training. Again, major concern is on the processes associated with the development of social skills, in this case, skills in the optimal use of social support systems. Section V examines factors of salience to the Navy as an organization and their implications for successful overseas performance. These organizational factors can be differentiated from factors associated with the other social systems primarily dealt with in the previous section (e.g., the family) in that the latter are more explicitly involved with support of the individual whether at home or overseas. Organizational factors, on the other hand, presumably are more directly involved with command effectiveness or productivity. The particular concern of this section is on cultural differences in organizations, how they are likely to affect high impact Navy personnel, and the implications for training in skills to deal with them.

The development of specific recommendations for Navy programs was not a task specified for this review. There were a number of key issues, however, running through the sections of this report with obvious programmatic implications. The interested reader is referred to the concluding section of the Executive Summary for a list of these issues.

## II. CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING FOR OVERSEAS ASSIGNMENT

### The Effects of Cross-Cultural Training

A number of empirical research studies have documented the types of positive effects resulting from good cross-cultural training. In all of the references to research cited in this section, people who received cross-cultural training were compared to people who received either no training or irrelevant training (e.g., an introduction to the geography of a country). Among the positive effects are:

1. Greater understanding of host nationals from the host nationals' own point of view (Albert & Adamapoulous, 1980).
2. A decrease in the use of negative stereotypes in thinking about hosts (Albert & Adamapoulous, 1980).
3. A development of complex rather than oversimplified thinking about another culture as well as an increase in knowledge about other cultures (Malpass & Salancik, 1977).
4. Better interpersonal relationships in workgroups composed of people from different cultural backgrounds (Fiedler et al., 1971).
5. Greater enjoyment among people who interact with hosts (Randolph, Landis, & Tzeng, 1977).
6. An increase, from a given person's own perspective, in that he or she has good working relations with hosts (Fiedler et al., 1971) and is enjoying overseas duty (Gudykunst, Hammer, & Wiseman, 1977).
7. Better adjustment to the everyday stresses of life in another culture and better job performance (Fiedler et al., 1971, with reference to the study by O'Brien, Fiedler, & Hewlett, 1971). The better job performance was found among people who had already lived in another culture. Training seemed to help them integrate their diverse, and perhaps confused, experiences.
8. Greater ease while interacting with hosts, as perceived by the hosts themselves (Randolph et al., 1977).
9. Assistance in setting and achieving people's own goals related to better interpersonal relations with hosts (Katz, 1977).
10. In longer programs (approximately ten weeks), increase in the general attitude called "world mindedness" as well as greater knowledge about one's own culture (Steinkalk & Taft, 1979).

These benefits, of course, are not the guaranteed outcomes of any training program. Rather, they are the potential benefits which can result from carefully prepared and well-executed cross-cultural training. We will devote much of this report to the issue of designing good programs.

### Audiences for Cross-Cultural Training

There are various audiences in the Navy which might receive training, and we will attempt to specify useful approaches for a given audience whenever possible. In general, audiences can be grouped into the following three categories:

1. High impact personnel who have large amounts of face-to-face interaction with hosts and who are involved in high level policy making and implementation. These people frequently participate in relatively long training programs prior to their overseas assignments.
2. Personnel on shore duty and homeported units at various Navy bases around the world.
3. Personnel deployed for short periods of time in various countries. This category includes Navy personnel on missions involving visits to a foreign country or a number of countries, as well as personnel on liberty in overseas ports.

### Basic Approaches to Cross-Cultural Training

There are six basic approaches to cross-cultural training. Most actual operational programs use one or more of the approaches, but rarely all six (Brislin & Pedersen, 1976). They can be viewed by potential program administrators and trainers as the tools with which they can better prepare trainees for overseas assignments. As with any set of tools, some will be used and some will not, depending upon the task to be completed. In actual practice, choice among the six depends upon:

1. The availability of materials.
2. The amount of time which can be spent on cross-cultural training, given the many other time demands facing Navy personnel.
3. The number of assistants and availability of resources to help the trainer.
4. The amount of experience which the cross-cultural trainer brings to the program, especially experience with the training itself.
5. The trainer's comfortableness and enthusiasm for a given approach. The trainer's good opinion of an approach is often conveyed to trainees, and the excitement of a committed trainer is frequently a major determinant of program success.
6. The level of sophistication of the trainees.
7. The country(ies) to which trainees will be assigned. The group may be homogenous with respect to country-of-assignment, or different trainees in the same program may be on their way to different countries. At times, some participants in a program do not know specifically where they will be assigned after training.

The treatment of cross-cultural training by Gudykunst et al. (1977) was prepared for the Navy and is the major source for the following typology, although there are more examples of possible program content in this treatment than in the Gudykunst et al. report.

Information or fact-oriented training. Trainees are presented with various facts about the country in which they are about to live. Or, if different trainees are about to be assigned to different countries, the facts would have to be more general and would center on typical problems and opportunities faced by most people who live overseas. The information could include facts about:

1. A given country's economy.
2. Climate, especially as it differs from what trainees have previously experienced (Whiting, 1964).
3. Quality of life issues of interest to Naval personnel, such as housing, money exchange rates, schooling for children, medical facilities, opportunities for employment for spouses, interesting trips which can be taken in the country, low-cost entertainment, and opportunities for advanced educational coursework (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1980).
4. Differences in the everyday behaviors of hosts and how these differ from the everyday behaviors of the trainees themselves (Hall, 1959, 1966, 1976). If the behaviors of one group may actually offend people from the other, these should be given special attention. Exactly because they are everyday and common, behaviors familiar to one group but offensive to another are sometimes hard to cover in training. Difficulties arise when trainees are asked to modify familiar, natural behaviors. One example is the relation between males and females. In some countries, it is completely inappropriate for a male to chat with a female if there has not been a formal introduction. Of course, in other countries males and females do meet and talk in public places without such formalities.
5. Decision making styles. Especially in more advanced courses for officers, an excellent content area is the process by which decisions are made in other countries (Janis & Mann, 1977). Topics would include who makes decisions, who reviews the alternatives before the final decision, how long it takes for members of a bureaucracy to process the various required inputs, the influence of a bureaucracy in helping or hampering the implementation of a major decision, and the contributions to be expected from political figures.
6. The typical experiences people face on an overseas assignment. These can include the problems faced in adjusting to a new culture (Cleveland, Mangone, & Adams, 1960), with its expected ups and downs in mood and morale for many people (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963). The constant need to cope with new, unfamiliar situations can be frustrating and

fatiguing. One message to be communicated in training is that frustration and "culture shock" are not signs of failure. Virtually everyone on an overseas assignment has to deal with frustration, fatigue, and periods of low morale. Training should assure people that they should never think, "I'm the only one who feels this way!" Rather, trainees should learn that mood swings are common and even expected. But in addition to potential difficulties, cross-cultural experiences can also be looked upon as a challenge and as an opportunity for enrichment. For instance, the bouncing back from the low mood swing can be experienced as overcoming an obstacle and can thus contribute to an increase in self-esteem. We feel that this attitude toward cross-cultural experiences (as opportunity rather than difficulty, and with potential for positive outcomes) is so important that we will be dealing with it continuously in later sections of this report.

The methods which the trainer can use to convey the facts include lectures, discussions, books, port guides prepared for specific countries (e.g., Scotland, Naples, Pakistan), video tapes, and films. From our discussions with Navy trainers, we found that users of books and films had few complaints about appropriateness and quality. If there was a complaint, it was that the materials are sometimes hard to obtain and seem to be less effectively distributed than would be ideal (see also Thomas & Miller, 1981, for similar observations). The potential benefits of self-instructional materials, using audio cassette tapes and pocket-sized booklets, is apparent here in terms of both their portability and ease of access. In addition, complaints about the absence of materials giving up-to-date facts were also noted. A possible step in meeting this need would be to develop a library-retrieval system whereby users could obtain current information about a country easily and quickly. The system could be computerized, but this is not an essential element. A possible model is the Human Relations Area Files system (Barry, 1980), currently available at many large university libraries and at such government installations as the U.S. Army Human Engineering Laboratories, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland. There, materials on selected cultures and societies representing all areas of the world (gathered for the most part by anthropologists) are organized both by area of the world and by topic area. A user might look up Palau and also topic areas for this island chain such as "entertainment," "interpersonal relationships," and "justice." The content in these categories can often be used for training. In fact, the Human Relations Area Files system has been used for cross-cultural training, although there is the same complaint of out-of-dateness and the additional complaint that the information is "too anthropological." In other words, there is much information in the Files which is of marginal use to the Navy, such as the complexities of a culture's kinship system. The model of the Files, however, and some of the content can be used to develop a system which can be easily tapped by trainers to obtain good information for their cross-cultural programs. Further, the system could be designed to permit trainers to contribute information

easily so that their insights can be shared by others in different parts of the world.

The other criticism of informational fact-oriented training (Brislin, 1979) is that trainees frequently complain about the total impact of the program. Some facts seem interesting, but they do not add up to a meaningful whole. Further, nothing is said about what to do with the facts. These possible criticisms should be kept in mind by trainers as they prepare their materials and design their programs. Facts do not necessarily have to be unrelated and unorganized. In addition, trainers can and often should make recommendations about what to do with the facts they present. One way of working with the facts is to add elements from those training approaches discussed below which demand more active participation from trainees.

Even though participation approaches may seem more innovative and exciting, there is no intent to downplay the importance of fact-oriented training. There will always be a place in good programs for well-prepared and well-presented information. Fact-oriented programs are probably the easiest to prepare if materials are readily available to the trainers. The demand is not as great for assistants, and the approach is flexible depending upon the sophistication of the trainees and the budget available for training. In our experience, people who have lived in a country and who are enthusiastic about their cross-cultural experiences are often willing to volunteer their services and are excellent speakers. Their obvious firsthand knowledge from "having been there" is respected by trainees. However, we recommend against those speakers who seem all too readily available and insist on beginning their talk with "Alright you \$¢/!\$¢, here's the story on C&E/HQ."

Attribution training. Originally developed out of Navy sponsored research (Fiedler et al., 1971), the attribution approach focuses on explanations of behavior from the hosts' point of view. Assume that an American interacts with a host national from Greece, and that there is a blunder made which causes the interaction to be prematurely ended. The American will surely have judgments about what caused the difficulties. That is, he will attribute the cause of the difficulties to some aspect of his or her own behavior or some aspect of the Greek's behavior. Similarly, the Greek will also make attributions about the cause of the difficulties. The goal of attribution training is to teach Americans the reasons why hosts make certain attributions. Americans learn to analyze situations from the hosts' point of view. Often, analyses of misunderstandings in this manner lead to insights and empathy ("Now I see what was going on!") rather than to displeasure or disgust.

One type of material which has been developed using the attribution approach is called "Culture Assimilators" (Albert & Adamapoulous, 1980; Triandis, 1977). Different sets of materials are provided for various countries in which Americans are to interact. That is, a different Culture Assimilator exists for Americans about to live in Greece, or Thailand, or Saudi Arabia, and so forth. For each



country, large numbers of critical incidents are gathered which repeatedly seem to cause difficulties when Americans interact with hosts of that country. Explanations of the incidents are then gathered from hosts, and the correct explanation is interspersed with other common but incorrect explanations which Americans frequently offer. Trainees read or discuss the critical incidents and then choose the explanation they feel is best. If trainees choose incorrectly, the written materials tell why the choice was wrong, and they are asked to choose again. If they are correct, they are asked to go to the next item. In all, a Culture Assimilator for a given country may contain 100-150 items. Ideally, after studying and discussing the many items, trainees have been exposed to a wide variety of everyday behaviors which may eventually be encountered during their overseas assignments.

The Culture Assimilator has been the most carefully researched cross-cultural training technique, partly because of multi-year funding from the Office of Naval Research and partly because of the methodologically sophisticated work by the original investigators (Fiedler et al., 1971) and their students. A few interesting research findings are worth noting for the general insights they contribute to all cross-cultural training. Trainees may "freeze up" after a program and may be somewhat fearful of interacting in another culture (O'Brien & Plooi, 1976). Whereas at first glance this may seem dysfunctional, in actuality such a response may reflect a healthy awareness of the difficulties in intercultural interaction and communication. If the technique is not used properly, however, there is a danger of overly sensitizing trainees to cultural differences without providing them with adequate coping strategies (Ruben & Kealey, 1979). Training seems to be more effective for people who have already had an intercultural experience (O'Brien et al., 1971). Perhaps the structured materials provided by the Culture Assimilator help trainees to integrate their previous haphazard thoughts and feelings about their cross-cultural interaction or perhaps they have become more practiced in anticipatory coping skills (see previous discussion, pp. 5-6). We will return to this important finding when we make recommendations about the timing of cross-cultural training with respect to the overseas assignments of Navy personnel.

The major expense with the attribution approach is the preparation of Culture Assimilators. People must generate incidents based on their firsthand experience with contact across two cultures. This pool of items must be reviewed for comprehensibility, redundancy, and appropriateness for training. Various alternative explanations must be gathered, all of them plausible to the uninitiated but only one correct from the hosts' point of view. There must be a consensus regarding the appropriate response, meaning that a number of hosts must agree upon the correct answer. The materials must then be organized so that learning will proceed in an orderly, rather than in a random, fashion. The Culture Assimilator must then be printed and disseminated. More details about materials development can be found in Albert and Adamopoulos (1980). In our experience, not all people who have lived for extended periods of time in another culture can develop Assimilator critical incidents. There seems to be a unique skill involved in

thinking about one's life overseas, summarizing it in individual incidents which may also be relevant to the experience of unknown others, and generating alternative explanations for the incidents as well as potentially effective responses. Out of fifteen people, only two or three might be good critical incident developers from their first day of work. After writing their incidents and distributing them, the work of these two or three can be used as models by others. Again in our experience, another five or six from that original group of fifteen will be able to write incidents after seeing the models and asking questions. Thus, eight or nine people will eventually be developing items for the critical incident pool.

Once the materials have been developed, they can be used in various ways and so become a flexible tool for training. Assimilator incidents can be read by trainees or they can be the basis for group discussions. Since much of the content is in the materials themselves, especially in the explanations of incidents, large numbers of assistants are not needed by the trainer. Since some of the language of attribution training is unfamiliar, as is the use of Assimilators, trainers themselves should receive briefings on the method and should feel comfortable with it.

The attribution approach can easily be adapted to the level of sophistication of trainees. Great amounts of research exist on the nature of attribution in the social psychology literature (e.g., Harvey, Ickes, & Kidd, 1976; Jones, Kanhouse, Kelley, Nisbett, Valins, & Weiner, 1972; Ross, 1977). This literature can be tapped for detailed discussions on Assimilator incidents. For instance, trainers point out that people are likely to make far more attributions (or judgments) while overseas than they would in their own country. From a general theoretical perspective, Kelley (1967) proposes that:

[A person] will be more susceptible to influence the more variable his prior attribution. Attribution instability (and hence, susceptibility to influence) will be high for a person who has (a) little social support, (b) prior information that is poor and ambiguous, (c) problems difficult beyond his capabilities, (d) views that have been disconfirmed because of their inappropriateness or nonveridicality, and (e) other experiences engendering low self-confidence. (p. 200)

The important implication for cross-cultural training is that the conditions listed by Kelley are those frequently encountered while overseas. There is (a) less social support since friends may be stationed elsewhere and family members may remain CONUS. Prior to assignment, it is difficult to obtain (b) accurate information about life overseas, even in the best training program. On almost all assignments, Navy personnel are likely (c) to encounter problems which they are unable to solve by themselves. Even if their technical skills are unquestioned, the way they must use the skills is frequently determined by the unfamiliar norms of the host country. As personnel adapt to the host country and attempt to go about their work, they will inevitably

find that (d) preconceived views have to be discarded because they are simply not true. Again, even the best training program cannot predict the experiences of every trainee, and such a state of affairs would probably be undesirable even if possible. Instead, people learn a great deal and add to their lives by working overseas and changing some of their preconceived views. Finally, all personnel will occasionally experience (e) feelings of low self-confidence. They cannot complete tasks as quickly as they wish, have difficulties finding adequate housing, are away from their families for long periods of time, and wonder if their careers would be better served by another assignment. When too many of these feelings are experienced at the same time, people begin to wonder if they are the cause of their own misfortunes.

Good training can help people understand their feelings of instability as well as the normal tendency to make more attributions. The amount of detail which can be treated and the concepts introduced, however, will depend upon the educational background of trainees and the amount of time available for training. While the material in the above paragraph could be covered in advanced courses (e.g., the Post Graduate School at Monterey or in high impact positions), it would probably be unwise to spend large amounts of time on it with personnel in shorter programs.

Cultural awareness. By studying behavior and values common in one's own country, trainers using the cultural awareness approach hope to acquaint trainees with basic ideas about cross-cultural relations. In effect, American Navy personnel study the cultures of the United States about which they have a good deal of knowledge prior to training. The goal of training is to use that knowledge to introduce the abstract concept of "culture" and to prepare people for life in other countries by introducing the nature of cultural differences.

For instance, in almost every culture awareness program the value of American rugged individualism is covered. In the United States, the individual who is able to achieve socially desirable goals, who is able to rise by the "bootstraps" from a modest or even impoverished background, and who is successful in his/her chosen profession is admired by the rest of society. Our legal system reinforces this view in its protection of "individual rights," and the burden is on society (which is represented by a prosecutor) to make its case against an individual accused of a crime. Society has to prove that the individual is guilty; the individual does not have to prove his innocence. These types of values or basic facts about American society seem obvious and are taken for granted. But for cross-cultural training, this is exactly the point. Because a country's own basic values are so familiar to its citizens, difficulties arise when those citizens live in other countries.

Continuing with the example of individual vs. collective orientations, other countries place a much higher value on the latter. To risk an oversimplification, this is generally true of Asian countries. The smooth functioning of society is considered more important than the

opportunities for a few individuals to rise above the crowd and to make new, original contributions. A given person in many Asian countries makes contributions as part of a group, and it is the group which is the focus of one's loyalty. A more specific example was given by Ho (1979, p. 147) who commented on the visit of some American psychologists to schools in the People's Republic of China:

What impressed these psychologists the most was the near absence of antisocial, disruptive, or aggressive behavior, and the conspicuously prosocial behavior of Chinese children. They also raised a question of central concern to all those who cherish individualist values; but at what cost to individual variation are these achieved?

The Americans' reaction reflects the differing value systems and is the sort of potential conflict which would be covered during training.

A specific method which has been developed to communicate culture awareness is called the "Contrast American" technique (Kraemer, 1969; Stewart, 1966). American trainees interact with a person who has been carefully briefed and prepared by the program administrator. That person, in interacting with the trainees, behaves according to values which are in direct contrast to those held by (or which are at least quite familiar to) most Americans. The American (X) and the Contrast American (Y) are asked to solve a problem. When X arrives on time, Y is late for the first meeting. When X emphasizes the importance of beginning the task right away, Y prefers to chat for a while so as to get to know his co-worker. When X wants to ask his colleagues to "pitch in," Y prefers to wait for subordinates. If X mentions that he worked his way through school, Y mentions the names of his patrons in high positions who have looked after him. Many of the sorts of behaviors which the Contrast American might express during training have been discussed by Hall (1959, 1966, 1976).

The Contrast American method has existed for about fifteen years, and it is one of those techniques which has an enthusiastic following despite limited empirical data concerning its usefulness. There is little question that the technique holds the attention of trainees and that it is remembered ten or more years after being experienced (Stewart, 1979, personal communication), although there is insufficient information to document the technique's long-term benefits.

Our guess is that one reason for the continued use of the Contrast American method, and cultural awareness approaches in general, is that they can be used in groups with heterogeneous assignments. No matter what country a person is traveling to, cultural awareness methods are relevant since they deal with values and behaviors of the trainees' culture itself. When used in this way, cultural awareness training is a type of culture general approach although somewhat different from the process skills described in the introduction as being culture general. The method is also flexible since the sophistication of any treatment of values and culture can be raised depending upon the background of trainers (e.g., the treatment of values by Zavalloni, 1980).

In addition, value contrasts can be used in country-specific training. We have spoken with Navy trainers in Naples, Italy, for instance, and they reported that sessions in which American and Italian values were contrasted and discussed proved successful. Again, one reason is probably the enthusiasm of the trainer for the approach. Other trainers less familiar or committed to a discussion of values might find that sessions become very abstract in content and far removed from the issues of adjustment to the host country and establishing oneself as a productive worker. The issue reflects the general point of the necessity, taking into account trainer skill/belief/enthusiasm X training approach in any training program.

A technique known as "self-confrontation" combines interaction with a Contrast American and video tape technology (Brislin & Pedersen, 1976; Eachus, 1965). The role play is videotaped and then shown to the trainer. Discussions can then center on what was done correctly and what can be improved. We feel this is a good technique when the time and facilities are available.

In the Gudykunst et al. (1977) typology of programs, there is an entry for self-awareness training. Here, trainees would examine their own values and personality traits and then relate them to their potential experiences in another culture. A woman who has ambitions for major contributions to her profession, for instance, might examine this value in the context of an assignment to any of several Third World countries. In many less technologically developed nations, women are not expected to contribute to the professions, but instead are expected to support their husbands. Or, a man who had grown up in an area of the United States where prejudice and discrimination toward non-Whites were the norms might reflect upon his work overseas where he (as a White) will be in the minority.

The difference between cultural awareness and self-awareness is that the former reviews values familiar to all participants while the latter focuses on the values and traits of individual trainees. We are uncomfortable in recommending self-awareness training without careful consideration of the training context. Insufficient time and resources exist for developing individual self-awareness in most training programs. Touching upon the subject may be uncomfortable for trainers and both uncomfortable and, sometimes, damaging for trainees. If a trainer has had a great deal of professional experience, if the program is sufficiently long, and if the trainees are sophisticated enough to examine their own values without feeling threatened, then self-awareness training might be effective. Such instances are, however, uncommon.

Cognitive-behavior modification. In this method, well-documented principles of learning are applied to the special problems of adjustment to other cultures. In current treatments of the method (David, 1972), the approach is called behavior modification, and a few specific techniques will be reviewed here. This presentation also serves as an introduction to Section III in which recent developments in behavior change and the modification of negative self-cognitions are reported

more fully. This presentation treats behavior modification as it has been used, whereas the later section focuses on how recent developments could be used.

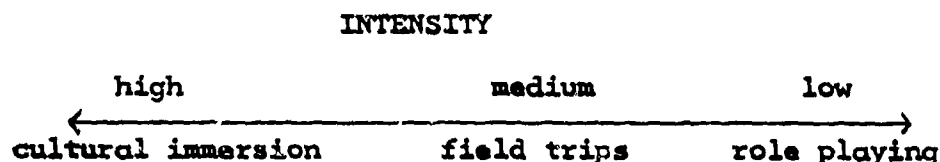
David (1972) employed a behavior modification approach by asking people to analyze the aspects of their own culture which they find rewarding and punishing. The people then studied other cultures to determine which of these rewards and punishers were present, and how they could be obtained or avoided. In analyzing rewards, for instance, a trainee might list that he enjoys reading daily newspapers, exercising regularly, meeting new people, and having a pleasant group of co-workers in the office. He would then study written materials about the other culture and contribute to group discussions led by a knowledgeable trainer to determine how these rewarding activities may be obtained. One benefit of being in the Navy is that a large amount of a person's possessions can be shipped to the new assignment. If one of the rewarding activities involves a large object, such as tinkering with one's 1934 Ford, then training can include finding out whether or not that car can be shipped to the newly assigned post. This can be easily done since trainers or trainees can call the Overseas Transfer Information Service (OTIS) which has information on these and a hundred other details about any given post. This example of the 1934 Ford is not meant to be taken humorously: A Navy officer with a great deal of cross-cultural training experience recommends to people that they not deprive themselves of a rewarding hobby overseas since pleasurable leisure time activities can be of great assistance in general adjustment in the other country.

The listing and examination procedure described below would be done in a similar manner for non-rewarding, punishing activities. A person might list that he dislikes noisy and crowded streets, not being understood by people when in new places, interacting with co-workers who have to be told things twice, and cities which have such complex street naming systems that mobility is difficult. Training might then proceed to sessions in which ways of avoiding the punishers are examined. Or, when this is impossible, given the realities of other countries (some places do have complex street naming systems!!), the negative activities might at least be neutralized. One way of neutralization is to explain the reasons why certain behaviors may seem punishing even though they are not meant as such by hosts. Using the example of telling people things twice, the trainee might be reminded about the complexities of the English language. Navy jargon and the use of acronyms, taken for granted by experienced personnel, are also difficult for outsiders to grasp. Realizing these points, a person who has to tell co-workers how to do things two or more times should be less surprised and upset. Another way of neutralizing is to substitute positive self-statements for negative ones (Higginbotham, 1979). When faced with crowded streets, there is a temptation to make negative statements such as "I want to keep away from this and stay on the base." Instead, training could encourage the substitution of positive self-statements: "It will be a challenge to find my way through this" or "It will make a good story back at the base if I make it through these streets."

The behavior modification approach has not been widely used even though we feel that its general approach is well worth careful study. One major reason for its infrequent use is the unfamiliarity of learning concepts among the non-professional psychologists who make up most potential trainees. Few trainers are familiar enough with the necessary learning concepts to be comfortable in introducing the ideas during an orientation program.<sup>1</sup> As used in cross-cultural training, then, behavior modification approaches would demand trainers who are (a) knowledgeable about learning principles, (b) willing to introduce concepts to trainees since there is often a great deal of unfamiliarity with them, and (c) creative in applying principles since there are few guidelines for use in cross-cultural training. In addition, the demands on trainers are high with respect to their specific knowledge about different countries or ready access to that knowledge. If each trainee is to list rewards and punishers, the trainer must know a great deal about other countries in order to suggest how things disliked can be avoided and how things liked can be obtained.

Experiential learning. The key difference between experiential learning and other forms of cross-cultural training is that trainees are maximally involved as participants. The goal of experiential training is to introduce the nature of life in another culture by actively experiencing that culture or a functional simulation of it. The biggest difference between "actual life" and experiential learning is that, in the latter, the training staff is available to help the learners. The staff can answer questions, help trainees to interpret unfamiliar situations, guide people into other situations which may enhance learning, and bolster the morale of trainees if they make mistakes. We recommend that this approach be carefully considered whenever it is feasible given adequate time, training staff, and resources.

A useful way of looking at experiential learning is to examine the intensity of various specific techniques. We will look at three techniques of varying intensity: cultural immersion, field trips, and role playing.<sup>2</sup>




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<sup>1</sup>Other aspects of the controversy surrounding the recommended use and non-use of behavior modification can be found in Goldiamond (1975) and Wolpe (1981).

<sup>2</sup>As with most typologies, there will be exceptions. Some cultural immersion experiences can be dull, and some role play sessions can be very intense (Mann & Janis, 1968).

In cultural immersions, administrators design the training environment so that it is as similar to the target culture (to which trainees will eventually be assigned) as possible. Trifonovitch (1977) used this approach in the training of Peace Corps personnel and government workers for Micronesia. Training took place in a rural part of Oahu, Hawaii. Trainees had to gather and cook their own food, arrange their daily activities by the sun and tides rather than by their watches, dig their own latrines, provide their own entertainment, and ration the limited amount of fresh water. The point, of course, is that this subsistence-level economy set up in the prototype training village is very similar to the typical Micronesian village in which the trainees would live. By understanding the many (to them) unfamiliar behaviors necessary for everyday survival, the assumption is that they will be empathetic toward the Micronesian villagers. For instance, teachers who might become angry at observing such a tired group of students might restrain themselves before delivering a stern lecture. They would realize that the students had to awaken very early to help their family gather and prepare food. In training, some of the "culture shock" of adjusting to a new life can be experienced firsthand, and it can be better understood since trainers are available to answer questions.

If trainers know that people have recurring negative reactions to specific behaviors in the host society, these can be introduced into training. Trainers do not necessarily just start the experiential learning and let it take its own course. Rather, they can add elements as the training proceeds. For instance, Trifonovitch (1977) knew that Americans living in Micronesia become upset when they learn that dogs are used as food. In the United States, there is an almost human quality placed on dogs who become family pets. There was one such stray dog in the village who had achieved this status. When food supplies became low, Trifonovitch suggested that the dog be killed and eaten, just as it would in a real village. Trainees became shocked and upset, but they then became motivated to discuss the matter. A good exchange contrasting American and Micronesian values concerning food and animals occurred. This is a major advantage of experiential learning: the firsthand experience motivates people to learn all those "dry" facts presented during other phases of training.

On the lower end of the experiential learning scale of intensity, role playing (Elms, 1967) provides a flexible technique that can be added to many training programs. Different trainees are assigned to different roles, much as in a short skit, they "play out" the roles so as to maintain consistent characters. Person A might play a Navy officer attempting to negotiate for a block of low-rent apartments in a European city for people in his command. Person B might play the host country landlord who does not particularly like Americans and who is convinced that various stereotypes about ugly-Americans overseas are true. In another exercise, person A might play an American who wants to introduce innovative production methods, while person B might play a bureaucrat who points out all the red tape which exists and which is virtually impossible to overcome. By participating



in the role play, especially through the process of reacting to the comments of the other person, trainees learn a great deal about typical problems in other cultures. Trainees want to do a good job in their role plays, and they are motivated to learn a great deal from their reading and discussions so that they can play their roles convincingly. With especially difficult roles, such as the landlord in the first example and the bureaucrat in the second, trainees should be given time to prepare themselves. The people about to perform the role plays might meet together beforehand and review the basic plot sequence. Role plays are rarely completely scripted in these preparation sessions. Rather, trainees agree to the basic outline and play key transitions by saying, "About midway, I'll give you such-and-such a line so that you can react to it."

Another role play technique has been previously introduced in the discussion of cultural awareness. The trainers usually introduce the Contrast American technique in which a carefully trained person behaves in ways which contrast sharply with the behavior of most Americans. In the early stages of the program, the trainees normally are members of an audience watching the interaction. When trainees themselves interact with the Contrast American, however, then the technique of role playing is introduced. A variation on the technique is called "role reversal" when people who normally are in a definite relationship to one another switch places for a period of time. An officer may play an enlisted man, and the enlisted man may assume the officer's role. Or, the husband-wife relationship might be used as the starting point. The wife, who normally has to remain at home while the husband is out to sea, might play the husband returning home after a cruise lasting six months. The husband, then, would play the wife who had to manage the everyday problems of repairs around the house, schooling for the children, payment of bills, medical attention as needed, and learning enough about the transportation system in the host country to move around. A "message" that frequently is internalized rather than simply read is that wives often know more about adjustment to the host country than do their husbands.

Even though we have placed role playing at the lower end of the intensity scale, the technique still has to be taken seriously if trainees are to learn about the host society. If the role plays are treated in a superfluous manner, no benefits will be forthcoming. Elms (1972) pointed out that role plays must be emotional: people must invest themselves in the technique. In programs involving large numbers of trainees, in which there is not enough time for everyone to actually perform a role play, the technique can still be used. Evidence exists that role plays can be beneficial for audience members as well as for performers (Mann & Janis, 1968). This is probably due to the fact that emotional role plays (such as the officer-enlisted man or husband-wife examples) are interesting to watch. Audience members have similar experiences in their own lives and can relate to the characters in the role play.

In the middle range of the intensity scale, field trips can be

scheduled. These are especially appropriate for longer training programs in which trainees have time to plan outings into the host country and away from the training site. In the Navy's training program in Japan, field trips are an integral part of people's orientation to their new duty station. Trips not only allow people to view the country and to relate new experiences to what they have read and discussed, they also provide good content which can be passed on to others. One of the major programs in Japan was for Navy personnel from various ships. Before the ship would stop over in Japan, designated personnel would receive training from a permanent staff member at Yokosuka. The program was for orienting a new group of trainers. These newly trained personnel would then go back to their ships and establish programs to prepare people for their stay in Japan. Field trips were an important part of the training. In addition to a focus on learning experiences, practical details like costs, transportation, time schedules, how to get information if one is lost, and interesting sites along an extended journey were recorded. These latter details were passed on to the personnel on the ship so that they could more easily take the opportunity to explore Japan beyond the military base.

In another program held at the Naval Amphibious School, Coronado, trainees visit a Mexican city very early in their training and again just before the program is completed. By comparing their insights and observations from the two occasions, trainees themselves can see that they are learning from the program and are becoming more sensitive to life in other cultures.

The field trip can be structured if the trainer asks that people look for certain behaviors. Trainees might be given a list and asked to provide examples, from their observations, of such phenomena as:

- evidence of a norm that is different from those commonly found in the U.S.
- a behavior which is apparently considered everyday and normal in the host culture, but which is upsetting to the trainee upon observing it
- some aspect of the host country which might cause "culture shock" if Americans were to live there for a long time
- a practice which exemplifies "culture relativity": practices which would not be workable given the structure of American society, but which are functional in the host society
- a potential source of social support in the host culture.

The exact content of the list can be varied according to the level of sophistication of the trainees and the technique is ideally suited to programs using a social skills training approach.

The advantage of experiential techniques is that since the relation to actual life in other cultures is greatest, the amount of realistic preparation is probably as high or higher than with other training approaches. Evidence also exists (Trifonovitch, Hamnett,

Geschwind, & Brislin, 1978) that experiential learning provides a stimulus for people to study more factual oriented materials and to take group discussions (from fact-oriented training) more seriously. The techniques are quite flexible since different behaviors can be introduced into the cultural immersions, various role play scenarios can be acted out, and a wide variety of field trips can be taken.

Unfortunately, the list of disadvantages is substantial. Experiential techniques are often very expensive to prepare, and they place great demands on the training staff. Many assistants are usually necessary to help manage cultural immersion exercises, brief people on role play methods, and help in organizing and monitoring field trips. Trainees sometimes cannot deal with the stress of the more intense experiential methods and demand that they be allowed to leave. The trainers have to be very familiar with all these techniques and very familiar with the probable range of trainee reactions. This is sometimes difficult in the Navy since trainers do their work as part of a two- to four-year assignment. After those years, just when they may be sophisticated and comfortable enough to introduce experiential techniques, they are transferred. Stein and Kanter (1980) also stress the limits of experiential learning in terms of the assessment of its contribution to the trainees' understanding of the specific phenomena in question. Because trainees may feel they have learned something valid does not necessarily imply that they have learned something that will aid effective interaction.

The interaction approach. Although bearing a good deal of similarity to aspects of experiential methods, Gudykunst et al. (1977) felt that the interaction approach is important enough to warrant a separate category. The basic element is that people interact with host nationals during the training program. The assumption is that if trainees can learn to become comfortable with hosts during the relatively non-threatening cross-cultural orientation program, they might be ready to begin work much earlier during the actual overseas assignment. Another type of interaction is with fellow nationals who have already made the cross-cultural adjustment--the "old hands." These people can then pass on the lessons they have learned about life and work during the assignment in a given country. The advantage of the approach is that host nationals and old hands are often very good resource people who are able to present more information than a trainer. No single trainer can present good information on all posts to which Navy personnel will be assigned. Given that there is enough of a budget to bring in additional resource people, host nationals and old hands are usually easy to integrate into a program. Of course, they have to be carefully selected. Some host nationals do not present material very effectively, and some old hands communicate information that would lead trainees to perpetuate the same mistakes which have been made for years. A major disadvantage is that, while intriguing, the interaction approach has not been adequately analyzed and discussed in the research literature. The result is a lack of guidelines for trainees. Recommendations cannot be made on (a) the best qualifications to look for when selecting hosts and old hands, (b) when these people might best present material--in the beginning, middle, or end of a

program, (c) what types of material they might best present, and (d) when hosts and old hands should not be used. With regard to the latter, it is possible that resource people who are obviously so good at interacting in the host culture may cause trainees to be threatened. They might easily say to themselves, "If I have to be that good, I'll skip the host culture and stay on the base."

#### Additional Considerations with the Use of Experiential and Interaction Approaches

The experiential and interaction approaches can be called "active" methods since they demand the involvement of trainees. An additional risk with active methods is that trainers may become the target of hostility. Although not identified in the published literature as a problem which frequently faces Navy trainers, difficulties have been mentioned frequently enough in training programs for adults (Adler, 1978; Schnapper, 1973; Textor, 1966) to warrant treatment here. If active training methods become more frequently used in the Navy, then the trainee-hostility problem may arise.

One reason for trainees' hostility is their frustration about uncertainty in their future. Most know they will have difficulties in their overseas assignments given the problems of relocation, housing, high costs, as well as adaptation to another culture. An easy target for people's frustration is the training staff. When the trainers add the active methods discussed above, these can be even more frustrating for the trainees. If people have to do things, then inevitably some will not be as smooth and skillful in their behavior as others. They may become even more hostile as a result. In any program to prepare trainers, we recommend that the possibility of participant hostility be covered. A profitable debriefing session for experienced trainers could include discussions on their methods for coping with trainee hostility. Little such information exists at present. Also suggested is that thought in training program design should be given to the sequence of multiple training approaches in the program--perhaps incorporating stress coping skills early in the program prior to heavy reliance on interaction approaches.

In sessions devoted to preparing trainers, other reasons for hostility should also be given attention. One is that some trainees see little use in cross-cultural preparation. The trouble is that these few are frequently the most verbal, or at least appear so, to the trainers. The exercises sometimes seem unrelated to duty demands and these verbal and visible trainees express frustration at having their time wasted. Given the frequency with which we have heard this complaint from Navy personnel, our recommendation is that the content of training deal specifically with problems which have obvious relevance to overseas assignments. We have tried to give examples of this recommendation in our treatments of training program structures, and we will give more examples in our treatment of research on the cross-cultural experience. If trainees see the relevance of program material, we predict that frustration due to the "wasted time" perception will

decrease.

Another important consideration with the active methods of cross-cultural training is that they can be used as part of in-country programs. The term "in-country" refers to training which takes place in the host country, that is, the country to which people are actually assigned (Guthrie, 1975; Textor, 1966). In-country training is less common than programs which are held in the sending country (e.g., the U.S.) for most cases in the published literature, although in-country training is very common in the Navy. One of the advantages is that people can observe what they are reading and discussing. Especially important, they can take short excursions after the 8-hour day, formal program is over. For instance, trainees might venture into a previously unseen area of town to look for ethnic restaurants. Although this may sound trivial, the behaviors observed along the way to the restaurant can make the formal training much more personally relevant to a given trainee. In longer programs, they can venture out on their own over weekends. Instead of the incredible expense and time investment necessary for establishing a simulated culture like that of Trifonovitch (1977), trainees can experience the host culture itself as part of the program. The check list method, described earlier, could be used. A wide range of host country indicators of culture and behavior differences could be included on the check list, and trainees would be expected to find them after traveling around on their own. Often, trainees can meet host co-workers and get to know them in a relatively non-threatening atmosphere. Another advantage is that host nationals are obviously more easily involved in training, and there undoubtedly will be a large pool from which to select the best facilitators. Old hands who have firsthand knowledge about adapting to the host country are also available for integration into the training program.

In-country training should be considered whenever feasible and the special advantages, outlined above, should be considered in designing programs. It was the method of choice in the early days of the Peace Corps (Textor, 1966), and various programs were carefully studied for insights into the nature of cross-cultural preparation (Guthrie, 1966; Szanton, 1966). Navy programs were also written up in well-distributed documents which had an impact on thinking in the private sector (Newman, 1968). But such treatments disappeared from the published literature in the 1970s. A probable reason is their expense: the costs for researchers to travel to and from training programs in different parts of the world, and to then evaluate the programs, seems high but in fact may often be justified by their benefits. It is much less expensive to evaluate programs in the U.S. since there is far less distance between the researchers' own home bases and that of training programs. But the result is an overrepresentation in the published literature on training which takes place in the U.S. When newcomers look at this literature, it appears as if U.S.-based training is the norm and the preferred method. Thus, since in-country training is rarely mentioned in the literature, it is not frequently considered when people design new programs.

Recently the major work of Kealey and his colleagues at the Canadian International Development Agency (Hawes & Kealey, 1979; Notowidigdo, 1981; Ruben & Kealey, 1979) has given new impetus to in-country training. Kealey (personal communication, 1981) feels that the impact of in-country training is likely to be far greater than sending-country based programs. One reason is that skills he has identified as crucial (e.g., working effectively with hosts and overcoming cultural differences when developing interpersonal relationships) can be experienced during in-country training but only discussed in sending-country programs. We hope that Kealey's work and our treatment here will serve to correct the current tendency to downplay consideration of in-country programs.

A summary of the goal, advantage, disadvantage, appropriate Navy audiences, and requirements of each of the major training approaches is presented in Table 1.

#### The Content of Cross-Cultural Training for Overseas Assignment

Now that the various approaches to cross-cultural training programs have been reviewed, the content areas most appropriate to Navy programs will be treated. As with most discussions regarding program development, content choices will be influenced by the time available for training, the amount of experience trainers have had, and the level of sophistication of trainees.

One of the richest, most helpful, but currently underused (in the Navy) research literatures, largely developed since 1960, is concerned with the typical experiences people will almost inevitably have while living overseas (e.g., Cleveland et al., 1960; Harris & Moran, 1979; Watson, 1973). Experiences include loneliness, frustration, and the collection of reactions called "culture shock," but they also include self-growth and the exhilaration resulting from the ability to overcome difficulties. This treatment draws heavily from the overview of cross-cultural interaction by Brislin (1981), and only a few examples can be given in the space available here. In terms of training content, the recommended approach is to organize people's reactions on cross-cultural assignments around a number of concepts which trainees can use as starting points for analysis. Details can then be organized under these concepts.

Individual-level concepts. These concepts differentiate one person from another and are measured on the basis of an individual's self-report or by the reports of others who know him/her well. They include personality traits, skills, feelings of worth, attitudes, and values. Variables reflecting these concepts are most frequently considered in an organization's selection procedures. As mentioned in the Introduction, we will not be dealing in depth with selection and screening for overseas assignments since these topics were the focus of a recent Navy study (Benson et al., 1980). Further, many Navy personnel have convinced us that there is rarely a large pool from which to select

TABLE 1  
SUMMARY OF TRAINING APPROACHES

Training Approach	Goal	Major Advantage	Major Disadvantage	Materials Needed?	Number of Training Staff	Heavy Audiences for Which Approach is Appropriate	Any Special Comment?	Pages in This Report Where Covered
Information as Part-orientated	To communicate important facts about another culture	Reliant to prepare	Complains that facts add up to no "whole"	Yes - useful to distribute brochures, booklets, and to show films when available	Once materials are available, only a relatively small staff is needed	All audiences, but especially appropriate in short-term programs with large numbers of trainees	Sometimes dry to dry time pressure on staff allow only cognitive training to be considered	pp. 10-12
Attribution	To encourage trainees to understand behavior from host point of view	More information from research studies on this approach than any other	Materials relatively expensive and time consuming to prepare	Yes - different about opinions about opinions' reactions to another culture	Once materials are available, only a small staff is needed	All audiences, but usually demands somewhat larger programs to introduce the concepts and the materials	Technique very popular with some trainees, but not all learn best with this problem solving approach	pp. 12-15
Cultural Awareness	To understand nature of "culture" by examining one's own behavior	Can be used with training groups whose members have been assigned to different countries	Materials presented are very abstract, somewhat removed from problems of living in another culture	Usually easy to use as materials to stimulate thinking are used	Compared to other approaches, moderate-size staff needed	High impact trainees can participate in the "Contrast American" approach; other trainees usually trained either as participants or as observers in the large number of trainees in programs for deployed personnel and for homeported units	If "Contrast American" technique used some staff observers have to be well prepared in their role plays	pp. 15-17
Cognitive-behavioral modification	To learn effective training behavior which cause difficult time	Great deal of research from which trainers can draw; a given person's specific behavioral patterns can be analyzed	Basic concepts are unfamiliar, sometimes distasteful, to trainees	Compared to other approaches, moderately small staff needed	Compared to other approaches, moderate-size staff needed	Difficult to assess since few model programs exist; probably best to introduce these programs into programs for high impact personnel and for longer term, continuing programs for homeported units since time is needed to introduce the concepts involved	Difficult to use in very large training groups; few model programs to emulate	pp. 17-19
Experiential Learning	To introduce actual life in another culture through first-hand experience	Introduction to life in another culture most realistic	Time-consuming, relatively expensive for staff to prepare	Materials which simulate another culture are often used; written materials needed if field trips are part of training	Compared to others, largest number of staff members needed	Actual simulations of other cultures are probably financially feasible only for high impact personnel. Other sorts of experiential exercises, such as field trips, can be used with all audiences given sufficient amounts of training time	If simulation is realistic, people may have adjustment problems in training and may become uncooperative	pp. 19-23
Interaction	To introduce learners to another culture through interaction with host nationals	Realistic interaction; time to hosts during relatively screen-free training	Difficult to recruit hosts who are first-rate additions to training staff	Sometimes summaries of major points communicated by hosts are distributed	Given the addition of hosts, relatively large staff needed	All audiences, since hosts can introduce facts, participate in role plays, and field trips; not requires materials, as appropriate to the budget and time available for training	Hosts are not necessarily the best trainers; like "old hands," they sometimes can perpetuate old stereotypes	pp. 23-24

people for a specific overseas assignment. Rather, when a position opens, someone is usually needed immediately. A large pool, out of which one or a few people can be chosen, is essential for a good selection procedure.

In cross-cultural training, individual-level concepts are better treated as central to people's reactions to the cross-cultural experience and to training itself. The basic point is that different people learn in different ways, and they react to their overseas experiences in different ways. One experienced Navy officer pointed out that the Culture Assimilator method (pp. 12-14) worked much better with people who have analytic minds and who enjoy the problem solving aspect of finding the right solution to Assimilator items. With respect to cross-cultural experiences, one of the best studies of job performance overseas was carried out among Peace Corps volunteers. Ezekiel (1968) found that one group of volunteers had very task-oriented personalities in contrast to colleagues who were much more socially-oriented. The task-oriented volunteers were rated highly in their jobs by supervisors and by an independent team of visiting social scientists. They invested time in deliberate programs of self-improvement, volunteered to take on additional work, and could adapt their behavior after experiencing communication difficulties with hosts. While such workers might seem ideal, other features of their behavior would have to make supervisors wonder about "well-roundedness." The task-oriented volunteers centered most of their lives around a village compound (much like a military base within a country), were bothered by feelings of loneliness, and felt that their work was not challenging enough. Good training, then, could include information on how people with a recognized personality orientation can engage in behaviors which might help the process of self-growth.

Individuals' thought processes. These variables refer to how people think about the new information they receive and how they make judgments regarding their own behavior and that of others. Much research suggests that mistakes are made on overseas assignments if sojourners and hosts make different judgments regarding such factors as job rewards, ideas about productivity, and the value placed on maintenance of equipment (Fiedler et al., 1971). Key concepts include attribution processes, stereotyping, and the imposition of one's pre-existing point of view. Training can reduce these mistakes by making judgments about the behavior of others more accurate (Triandis, 1977).

The subject matter of individuals' thought processes was introduced in the previous discussion of the Culture Assimilator training method. It was pointed out that attributions about one's own behavior and that of others constitute a major type of thought process. Self-attributions are very important. If people are unprepared for the adjustment necessary on an overseas assignment, they may misattribute the normal stresses and strains of everyday life to their own failures. They might say, "I can't interact as well with hosts as I can with co-workers from my own country. I must be making a mess of this



assignment." Training can point out the absolute inevitability of such feelings, can insure people that everyone feels as if they are making mistakes at one time or another, but that there should not be a misattribution to the self as cause. When training includes materials about the behavior of hosts, the goal is "isomorphic attribution" (Triandis, 1977) in which the trainee is capable of explaining behavior of both the trainee and the host from the host's point of view.

The use of stereotypes in thinking about people from other countries is another important subject area for coverage. Stereotypes are one type of category individuals frequently use in making sense out of their work. A key difference between stereotypes and other types of categories is that the former are concerned with people. Stereotypes refer to any categorization of individual elements which mask differences among those elements. They are absolutely essential for thinking and communicating since people cannot respond individually to the millions of isolated elements they perceive every day (McCauley & Stitt, 1978). People must group elements together into categories and respond to the categories. Specifically, stereotypes are a form of generalization which involves names of some group of people and statements about that group. Thus when we speak of "conservatives," "admirals," or "behavioral science researchers who have Navy contracts," we are using stereotypical categories which mask individual differences within those categories.

In addition to their usefulness in organizing thinking, stereotypes make more information available to people. If a person knows only that someone with whom he is to interact is a citizen of Great Britain, much additional information will be drawn since there is a strong stereotype of the British. The person will be viewed as reserved, somewhat aloof, a bit stuffy, but with a well-developed sense of fair play. Though stereotypes can be useful, they are often dangerous as well, to the degree they incorporate descriptions of the categories of persons that are in fact erroneous for individuals in the category or the categories as a whole. Often, if the stereotype does not apply to a given individual or is inappropriate to the category, much time is necessary to overcome the image. Good training can introduce the nature of stereotypes, their dangers, and the tremendous frequency with which they are used. Training can never stop people from stereotyping. However, it can point out that people can make better decisions if they realize that stereotypes are affecting their judgments and that a search for more and better information than is contained in the stereotype will usually be wise.

Group-level concepts. These variables refer to relations with other people, in face-to-face interactions, which are central to the successful accomplishment of one's goals. These concepts include the number, type, and intimacy of interactions; the status of hosts with whom one interacts; and the support groups which a person establishes to reduce stress and to discover key information about attaining one's goals in another culture.

Group ties can include close relationships with both fellow-

countrymen and hosts. A basic finding from work with immigrants is that members of families who travel together frequently have fewer adjustment problems (Taft, 1977). Family members can pool resources, share information about the host culture, use special skills (e.g., negotiating, trouble shooting) on behalf of others, and comfort each other during the inevitable periods of stress. Close ties with hosts usually lead to more and better information becoming available for decision making, especially in countries where the only way to cut through bureaucratic red tape is to use intermediaries who know the system. Relations with hosts are also a major avenue of self-growth. Hosts will have different ideas about a wide variety of issues. Consequently, people who interact with hosts will have their own ideas (as well as preconceptions about hosts in general) challenged. Coming to grips with the challenges forces a self-examination and leads to increased sophistication.

A long-term stay in another country frequently leads to a reaffirmation of the value of one's own country (Kelman & Bailyn, 1962). The common sense view that long-term assignments overseas make people less patriotic, since they adopt too much of the "native" viewpoint, has not been found in research studies (Pool, 1965). People who live overseas find that aspects of their own country are not as bad as they thought. Women, for instance, concerned about their place in American society find that great strides have been made compared to the severe restrictions placed on women's movements in many parts of the Middle East. Men unhappy with their ability to change government policies suddenly discover the advantages of a democracy after living in a country run by a dictator who puts massive constraints on people's input to government. Much like the air we breathe, we often do not appreciate a feature in our home until we have lived in a country lacking that feature.

The reaffirmation of one's own culture is not a move toward ethnocentrism which makes relations with hosts less positive. At the same time the reaffirmation effect occurs, people also can expand their group ties to include hosts. One does not preclude the other. Rather, the development of group ties is "additive" (Lambert, 1974). Much like learning new facts, there is not a necessary upper limit to one's feelings of group ties. The only caveat is to keep in mind that group ties carry obligations. Americans returning to home after a long overseas assignment in country X, who have developed close relationships with hosts, find that there are informal but nevertheless strong expectations. The Americans are expected to entertain visitors from country X. They are asked to assist with college admissions for young adults and sometimes with finding jobs which demand a permanent visa. If the Americans are involved in high-level administrative positions, they may be asked to assist in developing a foreign relations policy for country X (Pruitt, 1962). These demands become multiplied for the most successful cross-cultural adapters. Some people may have five or more overseas assignments during their careers, and each one may result in a new set of obligations stemming from group ties.

Task-oriented concepts. These variables refer to aspects of jobs

which are undertaken in cross-cultural settings, as well as people's possible reactions to the jobs. Included are the degree of definition regarding what is to be done, people's preparation for the task, and their coping processes vis-a-vis the inevitable roadblocks which they might face.

In cross-cultural interactions, an important factors is the differing definitions Americans and hosts use in judging "successful job performance." Guthrie and Zektick (1967) found that American and Filipino supervisors had totally unrelated judgments about the task performance of Peace Corps volunteers in the Philippines. American supervisory ratings bore no relation to the Filipino ratings, and vice-versa. American supervisors seemed to be looking for evidence of realistic goal setting, steady work toward those goals, and eventual evidence of successful goal accomplishment. Filipino supervisors seemed to be looking for people who got along well with hosts and who did not work in such a way as to embarrass hosts. It is easy to forget that if an American goes to another country with clear goals regarding an important task, this can be taken as a slight by the hosts. The hosts might feel that they are being insulted since they did not think of the important task in the first place. In the Philippines, there is a strong value placed on "pakikisama," roughly translated as smooth interpersonal relations. This was the focus of the Filipino supervisors' ratings, not necessarily the ability to work so hard as to make hosts uncomfortable. These facts do not mean that hard work will be rare. Rather, people will work hard if it is done in a way such that smooth interpersonal relations are maintained.

Related to this work in the Philippines, research carried out with technical assistance advisors from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) (Hawes & Kealey, 1979; Ruben & Kealey, 1979) suggests that sensitivity to interpersonal relations may be an important variable in virtually all task completion during overseas assignments. The projects studied in CIDA included road and building construction, wildlife management, and a telecommunications project. The researchers found that the advisors who were rated most highly by hosts were not necessarily the best technicians. Rather, adequate technicians who also had intercultural sensitivity were most highly rated. These latter people were more likely to encourage the transfer of skills to hosts. It is important to remember that after the technicians return to their home country, the hosts will be in charge of enlarging and maintaining any given project. The very highly skilled technicians were apparently so concerned with the task at hand, which in their minds only involved the time they were on their overseas assignments, that they made inadequate arrangements to encourage skill transfer. Hosts became upset (common charges about such technicians include words such as "imperial" and "domineering") and consequently would probably be hesitant to enter into contractual arrangements with the sending government on a later occasion. Thus, the probable reaction of hosts to the behavior of advisors is a good content area for training.

Organizational concepts. These concepts refer to structural aspects of the bureaucracies which manage programs involving cross-

cultural contact. Included are the level of funding, support for one's work from administrators, and amounts of management and leadership training for cross-cultural situations which are sponsored by organizations. An organizational variable involved with cross-cultural effectiveness is the field-home office distinction. People in field sites complain that the home office does not understand their problems, and people in the home office feel that colleagues in other countries are "going native." The energy spent in developing these ingroup-outgroup relationships takes away from productive work. Another variable is the absence of a constituency pushing for better programs for cross-cultural preparation. Compared to the number and influence of people lobbying for advances in hardware, the interest group supporting cross-cultural programs is small. A third variable is the potential for burn out among Navy personnel devoted to cross-cultural programs. If they feel that their assignments are not good roads to promotion and feel that their efforts are lost in a bureaucracy, they will naturally lose their enthusiasm and consequently their effectiveness.

Situational factors. These variables refer to combinations of people, places, and events which are regularly encountered during an overseas assignment. Training can center on how situations can be changed through key interventions so that the possibility of attaining desired outcomes can be maximized. Situations should be looked upon as combinations of factors, external to the individual, with which they deal on an everyday basis. Key variables include the degree of stress present in a situation, presence of models, time constraints, and degree of familiarity. Situations are difficult to conceptualize since there is not a set of terms in the English language which summarizes key situational factors (Jones, 1979). This contrasts sharply with the many terms available in the English language to describe individuals: achievement-oriented, sociable, domineering, power-happy, defensive, and so forth. A few examples of what we consider situational factors should be reviewed since the lack of a well-developed language makes communication of basic ideas difficult.

The easiest situational factors to conceptualize are probably those dealing with physical factors of the environment in which people find themselves. Climate is such a variable, and many people on overseas assignments have to cope with climatic conditions which they find uncomfortable. Assume the problem is humidity. People can deal with this situational variable in several ways. If they are able to set their own hours, they might work in the evenings. Administrators might set more relaxed dress codes than those which exist for the organization in general. The expense of air conditioning might be justified.

More difficult to conceptualize are situations which form because of social factors, including other people in the environment. Situational variables involving social factors have occasionally been the focus of empirical research, although this work has rarely been specifically aimed at the unique case of overseas assignments. Fiedler (1967) has argued that people's ability to lead is strongly

influenced by leader-member relations, task structure, and position power. His leadership model also includes people's personalities, and the main distinction is between leaders who are very task-oriented and leaders who have a strong social orientation. Different situations can be placed on a dimension of favorableness to unfavorableness. If leader-member relations are good, the task structured, and position of power assured, the situation is said to be favorable. If the situation is marked by the opposite pole of all three variables, it is said to be unfavorable. Situations with a mix, high on one variable but low on another, are said to be intermediate.

Task leaders are more effective than social leaders when working in situations marked by the extremes of high and low favorableness. In highly favorable situations, there are few group-related problems: people like each other, tasks are clear, and the leader has power. Members can spend their time and energy on work under the guidance of a production-oriented person. In highly unfavorable situations, task leaders are apparently necessary if any work is to be accomplished. Perhaps there are so many problems that guidance from a task-oriented leader is the only input which might be effective. Task leaders do not necessarily welcome unfavorable situations. Rather, when faced with the challenge, they are more effective than social-oriented leaders. It should be noted, especially with groups composed of people from several cultures, that even the most accomplished task leaders will be ineffective when intragroup relations are extremely poor.

Social leaders, on the other hand, are more effective in situations of moderate favorableness. One possible reason is that moderately unfavorable situations can be improved, and the social leader is more skillful at marshalling the efforts of group members and encouraging them to contribute. For instance, if leader-member relations are good but the task unstructured and power unclear, the social leader can encourage others to make suggestions regarding the task and an acceptable system of rewards and punishments. Since the leader is sincerely interested in others, group members are likely to respond.

Although Fiedler's model, itself, may have cultural limitations, the important point for consideration in any discussion of managing overseas assignments is that matches between individuals and overseas situations may be possible and that can be an important content of training programs. The administrator may be able to diagnose situations according to the variables suggested by Fiedler and others (e.g., Endler & Magnusson, 1976) and then assign people who may be the best leaders in those situations.

Groups in situations: Managing cross-cultural contact. Now that basic concepts of groups, tasks, and situations have been introduced, a valuable research area can be reviewed which incorporates aspects of all three concepts. On overseas assignments, Navy personnel have important tasks to accomplish, and they must often work in unfamiliar situations with members of groups in which they are not a member

(i.e., the host nationals). The question then arises: Are there general principles which can be applied to help in the management of intergroup relations in these cross-cultural situations that can be important content areas for overseas training?

The research on intergroup relations is rich and potentially very helpful. Although many suggestions have been put forward (Allport, 1954; Brislin, 1981; Sherif, 1966; Watson, 1973), three principles emerge as most frequently recommended. These are that groups, as far as possible, be of equal status and engage in non-superficial, intimate interaction. While so doing, they should pursue superordinate goals.

Equal status (Amir, 1969; Riordan, 1978) means that one group should not have more power than another in the form of greater resource control or greater access to desired commodities. In equal status contact, groups can interact with less chance of threat and of inferiority feelings. Admittedly, this is a difficult principle to use in many Navy settings. On overseas bases, Navy people have more power than hosts since they control access to jobs, salary levels, and so forth. Unless greater host status can be achieved in the minds of Navy personnel by pointing to higher levels on other variables such as knowledge of local conditions and access to community support systems, equal status contact will be an unrealized ideal.

Intimate contact allows people to become closely acquainted with each other so that there is a breakdown of the undifferentiated mass called "them." It refers to the sort of contact in which people become comfortable about exchanging personal information about themselves. People begin to understand each others' basic concerns and find that there is a great deal of commonality: Navy personnel and hosts are concerned about opportunities for their children, the ravages of inflation, the slowness of promotions, and the high cost of living. A typical reaction on an individual's part is, "I thought they were so different and strange; now I realize the amount of similarity." This realization is a major step toward a breakdown of strong ingroup-outgroup feelings.

Superordinate goals are those desired by both groups in a situation and demand the efforts of both groups for their attainment (Sherif, 1966). In working toward such goals, difficulties such as misunderstanding the intentions of hosts become far less important. Superordinate goals are often present in Navy-host community relations programs. Both "sides" want smooth relations, and the efforts of all are necessary. Team sports can achieve this function: mixed teams composed of visitors and hosts must work together to achieve the goal of winning.

Equal status, intimate contact, and superordinate goals can be incorporated into training as part of programs using the interaction approach discussed earlier. Trainees can interact with hosts in equal status relations since trainers can choose hosts who naturally have high status and can also arrange situations such that no one person has

greater access to desired outcomes. Topics can be introduced in discussion groups which encourage the sharing of personal information. Tasks can be introduced which demand the efforts of all people for their solution, such as the correct answering of a large number of difficult Culture Assimilator items.

#### The Contingencies Determining Cross-Cultural Training Effectiveness

The preceding treatments of organizational concepts and managing cross-cultural contact lead directly to a discussion of the place of cross-cultural training within the Navy. Not every training program will have positive consequences appropriate to Navy missions. We have tried to describe those types of programs which should have the most beneficial effects. A broad view must be maintained with respect to these effects. There is a favorable history for this in the Navy since past foci of cross-cultural training efforts have included personal relations with hosts, overseas diplomacy, and job productivity. During our discussions with Navy personnel, respondents indicated that they continue to recognize the value of all these foci. We suggest that the effects of cross-cultural training for overseas assignments on retention, reenlistment, spouse support for Navy personnel, and self-growth be added. Further, cross-cultural training will only have beneficial effects if it is understood by Navy commands and if it is encouraged by them in the achievement of its goals. A very visible sign of support will occur when cross-cultural training's best workers clearly take a step toward promotion for their good work.

### III. INDIVIDUAL CHANGE FACTORS IN OVERSEAS TRAINING

A growing body of empirical studies indicates that cultural variables can be integrated with individual behavior change goals to bring about contextually appropriate modifications in human performance. Kazdin and Wilson (1978) have provided an analysis of the cross-cultural applicability of behavior change approaches to human adjustment problems, and Higginbotham and Tanaka-Matsumi (1980) have analyzed behavioral approaches to improving intercultural adjustment problems. Although they have been greatly neglected in cross-cultural training programs, the results of behavior change studies may prove useful in delivering more effective training. This chapter will consider current theory and research in behavior change for application to the cross-cultural orientation and training of Navy personnel. Before doing so, it is useful to review previous analyses of behavior change approaches to understanding intercultural adjustment.

#### Behavior Change for Intercultural Adjustment

The social learning principles implicit in the basic approaches to cross-cultural training described by Gudykunst et al. (1977) have been made more explicit in analyses of behavior change for intercultural adjustment and improved overseas performance. In-depth analyses of intercultural adjustment based on social learning approaches first appeared as part of the Peace Corps literature (David, 1972), but have heretofore not been well integrated with the general field of cross-cultural training. The relative neglect of these approaches is disappointing since they are considerably more specific about concrete behaviors that both create problems and are considered important for successful overseas performance. Two of the more thoughtful and extensive treatments of intercultural adjustment from a social learning standpoint will be considered.

Guthrie (1975) provides a detailed analysis of culture learning from a social behaviorist perspective. In many ways, his analysis foreshadowed recent developments in cognitive-social learning theory which emphasize situational stressors interacting with presumably enduring characteristics of the person to produce varying degrees of strain (e.g., Beech, 1978; Lazarus & Launier, 1978).

Guthrie considered it useful to conceive of the individual in the new culture setting as an experiment in which the language, body, memories, and skills of the person were held constant, while the external social situation changed in terms of behavioral expectations, social approval, demands for emotional control, and personal identity. In combination, the changes required under these circumstances constitute a powerful challenge to problem solving abilities and control over internal emotional states. By contrast with other writers who have chosen the term "culture shock" (Oberg, 1958) to describe the stress that resulted, Guthrie (1975) preferred the term "culture fatigue."



The metaphor of shock connotes a suspension of usual ongoing processes. By contrast the metaphor of fatigue is probably more appropriate to describe the continuous adaptive demands which overload usual coping strategies and skills. The choice of the term "shock" also connotes an external source as the primary element in adaptive stress, which minimizes the role of negative self-appraisal in the face of less than adequate adaptive responses in another culture. The experiences of sojourners who have gone through painful reappraisals of identities which they had come to regard as consistent and dependable provides some evidence that self-confrontation may be the crucial component of the intercultural adjustment experience. This may also account in part for the behavioral discontinuities observed when the same individuals are placed in different cultural contexts. These observations support current research on the powerful situational determinants of behavior, and the relative ease with which presumed consistencies in the behavior of a person can be rendered inconsistent (e.g., Endler & Magnusson, 1976). Brislin (1981) provides the most recent and by far the most balanced treatment of the concept of "culture shock," indicating both the positive and negative aspects for the sojourner.

The concept of culture fatigue may be preferable to culture shock insofar as it connotes a marked shift in socially rewarding conditions, whereby certain behaviors undergo extinction, reinforcement schedules are altered, new discriminative stimuli are learned, and social and symbolic reinforcers are reversed. This confusion of novel cues creates a challenging problem solving task which requires recognition, discrimination, reappraisal, behavior strategy construction, and enactment for successful adaptation to new social environments. Behavioral analyses of social skills acquisition (e.g., Morgan, 1980; Welford, 1980) are consistent with this general description of the tasks faced in novel social learning situations, and intercultural behavior settings are certainly among the more challenging of novel learning situations.

It is instructive to consider Guthrie's description of extinction-produced aggression, changes in primary reinforcers, changes in secondary reinforcers, accidental reinforcement, and reinforcement of novel behavior as they apply to the intercultural adjustment process.

Extinction-produced aggression. The loss of social approval for providing desired behaviors that were learned in primary socialization settings typically has the effect of frustrating the individual to the point of aggressive behaviors against the host culture. Eye contact and ritual greetings may be considered unduly familiar or even intrusive behaviors in cultures where formal ceremonial introductions are considered a requirement for social interaction. The failure to receive this type of social approval through such nonverbal means is a primary reinforcer which when denied often leads to compensatory retaliation against the source of perceived rejection. Intense anger without a clear object is often reported by sojourners as one of the more emotionally stressful aspects of intercultural adjustment.

Change in primary reinforcers. Just as laboratory studies of change in reinforcers have produced confusion and extreme disruption of stable behaviors in a variety of experimental subjects, the change of reinforcers in new cultural settings often leads to similar confusion and behavioral disruptions in sojourners. The role of indigenous foods, predictable climate, and physical comforts as primary reinforcers in the pre-sojourn setting is greatly underemphasized in most discussions of intercultural adjustment processes. Failure to adequately provide these reinforcers or to find adequate substitutes is also underestimated as a source of stress in new cultural settings.

Changes in secondary reinforcers. Of primary importance for the sojourner's successful adaptation to the new cultural setting is the recognition and response to a new set of secondary reinforcers which are directly connected to social approval or disapproval. Guthrie offered laughing and smiling as prime sources of confusion in this regard with the giving and withholding as indicators of approval and disapproval. These two social behaviors have different if not opposite meanings and social functions when expressed in other cultures (e.g., smiling when angry or embarrassed is common in Asian cultures). Probably the most critical aspect of changes in social reinforcers is that a reciprocal process operates in which both host and sojourner fail to provide appropriate discriminative stimuli for each other, or apply negative reinforcers without awareness that they are doing so. This creates social deprivation for both participants in social interaction. The confusion, hostility, and punitive social relations which result often limit intercultural interactions and reduce the productivity and satisfaction of both parties.

Accidental reinforcement. The role of unplanned reinforcement in intercultural adjustment takes many forms; the most problematic of which is the inadvertent reinforcement of perceptions of agreement on important mutual tasks between host and sojourner. The public "yea-saying" behavior which often conceals serious reservations in various cultures (e.g., Japan) is a primary source of such confusion. A classic example is the aversive consequences of pairing a supervisor whose learning history includes the discrimination of certain behaviors as indication of compliance with instructions (e.g., head nods; verbalizing "I understand") provided by an employee who emits such behaviors as a form of social courtesy and not as indication of intention to act. The expectation of action as a function of oral agreement which is not complimented by actual behavior is also characteristic of recent failures of diplomatic negotiations between the United States and Middle Eastern governments resulting in aversive consequences for both parties (Glenn, Witmeyer, & Stevenson, 1977).

Learning of novel behavior. The typically noxious physiological arousal in the early part of a sojourn combined with abrupt discontinuity of previously dependable social reinforcements provides powerful conditions for the rapid learning of novel behaviors. It may be these contextual factors which produce so much unexpected behavior in contrast with previous individual behavior patterns. The early part of a sojourn

may be critical for primary cognitive appraisals which have a major influence for the overall productivity and satisfaction of the sojourner. Guthrie's analysis suggests that the primary cognitive set is imposed largely by the initial contacts in the new culture setting and that much of the negative emotions, such as anger, could be mitigated or even changed to positive emotions given a different shared cognitive set. There is little systematic research on cultural attitude formation and the role of key contact persons in shaping perceptions of the host culture. Nor is much known about the effects on primary appraisal processes (e.g., whether the host culture is seen as a threat or an opportunity) of the overseas socialization enclave. However, it is probable that these factors often have a much more powerful influence on sojourners than do pre-departure orientation or cross-cultural training programs.

By contrast with Guthrie's social behaviorist analysis of culture learning, David (1976) used social learning theory to propose preventive measures for intercultural adjustment problems. Consistent with Guthrie, David viewed the removal of reinforcing events as a basic contributing factor to the adjustment difficulties of sojourners. By contrast with Guthrie, who stressed the massive input of misinformation as a major factor in culture fatigue, David proposed that it was the removal of a select few reinforcing events that was upsetting to the sojourner, rather than the loss of the entire home culture. As a primary source of satisfaction for the sojourner, these potent reinforcers were seen as critical for an effective intercultural adjustment. A major problem in this regard is the identification of potent reinforcers since the satisfaction derived from the reinforcing event may only be known after it is removed or unavailable. Consequently, as mentioned previously in the context of bringing hobbies overseas, the typical sojourner does little systematic planning for transferring or adapting new reinforcers before overseas departure.

David (1976) also emphasized the role of aversive events, some of which were attributable to tangible objects, such as furniture for sleeping, but most of which were related to the numerous intercultural mistakes which created a generalized level of anticipatory fear of social situations and further reduced overall coping capacity. Both the removal of reinforcements and the presence of aversive events have punishing consequences for the sojourner. Preventing intercultural adjustment problems requires that the sojourner learn discriminative stimuli that are instrumental in obtaining positive reinforcement and avoiding aversive consequences. Transferring reinforcers compatible with the host culture, modifying only partially transferable reinforcers, and developing new reinforcers are essential strategies in maintaining an adequate sustaining level of positive reinforcement. Avoiding or learning ways to neutralize aversive events, and changing previously aversive events to reinforcements are also crucial aspects of the successful sojourn.

Of particular interest in David's analysis is the emphasis on modeling the behaviors of host culture persons who have apparently

adjusted well to the new culture. Guthrie's analysis suggested that most new behavior and attitudes were acquired through observational-imitative learning in the early parts of the sojourn which greatly influenced subsequent behavior patterns of the sojourner. David is explicit in suggesting imitation of successful models, but a crucial question remains about the extent of modeling that is possible and the conditions required for modeling of successful coping strategies. It is one thing to imitate the proper use of chopsticks or the appropriate greeting behaviors in another culture. It is quite another thing to model complex internal behaviors which may be far more important in preventing chronic anger, self-deprecation, depression or aggressive acting-out, and which in turn lower morale, satisfaction, and productivity.

The essential point of both Guthrie's and David's social learning analyses of intercultural adjustment is the potent influences exerted by largely unpredictable and often novel reinforcement contingencies. Very little of the theoretical framework or laboratory research from the area of social learning has been incorporated in cross-cultural orientation or training programs, despite the likelihood that it could improve overseas performance. It remains a paradox that the same principles of learning which are regularly used to teach people the technical aspects of their overseas duty assignments have been ignored in the personal and social aspects of the sojourn.

### Cognitive Behavior Modification

Some of the more active areas of theory and research development within the general behavior change literature in recent years have been the cognitive change and cognitive behavior modification approaches. Two volumes devoted entirely to cognitive-behavioral interventions and assessment for cognitive-behavioral interventions have recently appeared (Kendall & Hollon, 1979, 1981), and a Handbook of Behavioral Assessment (Ciminero, Calhoun, & Adams, 1977) provides extensive coverage of assessment approaches much of which focuses on cognitive changes. Behavior change methods have been successfully applied to relationship-enhancement, attitude change, and fear reduction (Kanfer & Goldstein, 1975). Whereas the earlier theories of behavior change were built upon classical and operant conditioning models focusing on contingency management and reinforcement control over observable behaviors, more recent approaches deal explicitly with internal-cognitive-emotive behaviors (Kendall & Hollon, 1981; Smith, 1980). Special forms of intervention emphasizing cognitive factors will be considered here because of their direct applicability to the overseas performance setting.

Goldfried and Goldfried (1975) proposed that cognitive change methods were particularly appropriate for assisting persons who have to cope with complex and relatively unfamiliar situations, for persons whose previous learning experiences have ill-prepared them for functioning in new task-environments, and for persons who experienced a

combination of such factors. The intercultural adjustment tasks faced by overseas duty personnel would seem to fit squarely with these conditions. They have described in detail two different cognitive change procedures both of which relate to enhanced coping with unfamiliar, complex situations for which one's prior learning experiences are inadequate. Systematic rational restructuring focuses on procedures for teaching an individual to reduce maladaptive emotional reactions by learning to label situations more accurately. Problem solving training provides the individual with a general strategy for coping with the complexities of the surrounding world. Both approaches are worth considering in detail for their relevance to overseas duty performance.

Systematic rational restructuring. Fundamental to cognitive change methods based on systematic rational restructuring is the notion that the individual's expectations and assumptions about the world have significant implications for both emotional reactions and overt behavior. The terms "expectancy" and "assumptions" in this case are closely related to the primary cognitive set concepts that Guthrie (1975) considered critical to the sojourner's perception of the overseas environment. Novaco (1979) and Lazarus and Launier (1978) have also considered the role of primary and secondary appraisal processes in the perceptions of and response to stressful life situations. From this general viewpoint, both overt and covert language is seen as playing an important role in creating emotional arousal through the way in which life situations are labeled and not necessarily from the objective characteristics of the situations themselves.

There is an extensive history behind this approach to behavior change beginning with the rational-emotive therapy of Albert Ellis which involves the challenging of irrational life assumptions of the client (1978). The basic procedures of rational-emotive therapy have been systematized with a general behavior change orientation by more current practitioners and extended to various non-clinical populations (Goldfried, 1979). The central concept in this behavior change method is that irrational beliefs, expectations, and assumptions are involved in ineffective responses to life situations and that they must be challenged and eliminated in order for people to function more effectively. The stereotypical perceptions, unfounded attitudes, and unrealistic beliefs that overseas personnel hold of the host culture are highly similar to those irrational beliefs described by systematic rational restructuring. With only slight paraphrasing these latter beliefs are consistent with those that have been found to repeatedly cause difficulties in intercultural adjustment. For example, the belief that it is "a dire necessity for one to be loved and approved by virtually every significant other person in the community" converts for the sojourner to the belief that one must be accepted and approved by all members of the host country. The obvious result of holding such a belief would be heightened stress and inevitable frustration considering the acknowledged difficulty of recognizing, rehearsing, and enacting approval-receiving behaviors for each and every host in the overseas setting.

Beck's (1970, 1976) analysis of cognitive styles is similar to systematic rational restructuring in its focus on awareness of the person's distortions in their thought patterns which result in selectively attending to, and uncritically anticipating, negative consequences. Among the basic cognitive distortions considered by Beck (1970) are: (1) arbitrary inference--the drawing of a conclusion when evidence is lacking or actually supports the contrary conclusion; (2) magnification--exaggerating the meaning of an event; (3) cognitive deficiency--disregard for an important aspect of a life situation; (4) dichotomous reasoning--overly simplified and rigid perception of events as good or bad, right or wrong; and (5) overgeneralization--taking a single failure experience as a sign of total personal incompetence.

The overseas duty setting is obviously fraught with life-situation possibilities for these types of distortions to occur, especially in the early phases of the sojourn. The longer term consequences for a successful sojourn and for post-sojourn productivity are also clearly related to the development of, or reinforcement of, pre-existing cognitive distortions. It is interesting to consider a cognitive styles assessment approach with regard to selection of high-impact overseas duty personnel. Perhaps the research which shows modest correlation between trait-like factors, such as tolerance for ambiguity or ability to suspend critical judgment, and successful overseas adjustment has been tapping cognitive style variables. If measured more directly with overseas life-situation stimuli, the predictive validity of pre-departure selection procedures for overseas performance might be enhanced.

In actual practice, systematic rational restructuring consists of four major components (Goldfried, 1979; Goldfried & Goldfried, 1975). First, the rationale for the training is presented with illustrations of how self-statements (e.g., what people say to themselves about their social experiences) bring about changes in feelings. The overlearned, out-of-awareness, and automatic effects on overt behavior of self-statements are emphasized and illustrated. The similarity of these self-statements to the overlearned nature of cultural perceptions and practices is clearly seen in the ethnocentric categories that are used to make attributions about the causes of culturally different behavior. Second, reactions to various irrational beliefs are elicited, sometimes by using an extreme form of the statement in a deliberate attempt to show its untenableness in practical terms. This provides cognitive discrimination training by contrasting the desirability of an expectation being met (such as being immediately accepted and approved by all the significant others in the host country community) with the absolute necessity of meeting such an expectation, given that it will probably lead to frustration and its emotional consequences. The third component involves an analysis of self-statements for the likelihood that the interpretation of the situation is realistic and the ultimate implications of the way in which the situation has been labeled. Taking the example just offered, failure to gain immediate acceptance or approval from the host country community may be interpreted by the

sojourner as personal dislike ("these people just don't like me"). The rationality of this statement may be considered for the likelihood of other reasonable explanations for non-acceptance. In this case, they might involve indigenous cultural factors, such as the required sharing of scarce food and possessions when one is granted membership through social acceptance to clan-based, extended family cultures.

The final component of systematic rational restructuring focuses on the modification of internal self-statements from inadequate to effective coping statements. This is the most crucial component since earlier components in training have dealt primarily with creating awareness and understanding how internal sentences cause emotional stress. (It should be noted that this is where many fact-oriented cross-cultural training programs stop and probably lose a great deal of their potential effectiveness.) The primary goal of this final phase is to promote perspective-taking accompanied by reappraisal of the anxiety-provoking situation as it occurs. With clinical populations, this is usually done on an individual basis with rehearsal through imagery of the anxiety-provoking situation. The application of such procedures to non-clinical populations on a small group or medium-sized group basis using high frequency, stress-producing intercultural events appears feasible. Since many cross-cultural training programs contain most of the elements of systematic rational restructuring in various forms, their reorganization combined with the critical component of deliberate attempts to change inadequate coping statements to effective coping statements is clearly indicated as a next step in the evolution of intercultural adjustment training methods.

Problem solving training. A realistic appraisal of the overseas duty setting indicates that it is replete with real-life problems that must be solved if the sojourner is to be successful in both the technical and non-technical aspects of the assignment. How well these problems are solved has a direct bearing on the sojourner's immediate performance and may have long-term consequences for morale and satisfaction. Unfortunately, the capacity for effective intercultural problem solving more often has been assumed rather than considered as a skill to be acquired through cross-cultural training.

The goal of problem solving training is to provide a general coping strategy for dealing with a wide variety of situational problems rather than providing specific solutions to specific problems (Goldfried & Goldfried, 1975; Smith, 1980). Based on relevant theory and research, D'Zurilla and Goldfried (1971) describe five steps involved in the problem solving process. First is the development of a general attitude composed of four elements with which problem situations are approached. With regard to the overseas duty setting, these would include: (1) recognition that problematic situations are a normal aspect of overseas living; (2) the assumption of capacity for active coping with overseas problem situations; (3) a readiness to recognize problematic overseas situations as they occur; and (4) a conscious set to inhibit acting impulsively when problematic situations occur. It is the third element in this process that presents a serious

challenge to the sojourner because the cues for recognizing a problem situation may be difficult to detect. What is important, however, is that vague feelings of emotional stress are first used as the cue to refocus attention from the emotional state to the situation creating the stress.

The second step involves defining and formulating the problem situation in concrete terms. Converting abstract terms to concrete examples serves to focus and give direction to the problem solving process. The occurrence of vague mood swings and repetitive criticisms of host cultures are excellent examples of the type of ineffective problem solving behavior that characterizes many sojourners.

The generation of alternative explanations and responses to problematic situations is the third step and the one most closely related to existing cross-cultural training procedures that use attribution learning principles, such as the Culture Assimilator. Problem solving training teaches deferment of judgment on the assumption that temporarily withholding evaluation of the quality of decisions will increase the probability that good solutions will be produced, and encourages the generation of a large number of alternatives as a means of enhancing the likelihood that better solutions will be included. By contrast, cross-cultural training based on attribution learning principles usually teaches the recognition of a more correct response based on situational content rather than the generation of functionally equivalent solutions.

The fourth decision making step in the problem solving process involves estimating which of the various alternatives are worth pursuing. Anticipating the consequences of various problem solving strategies and elaborating the tactics by which various strategies will be carried out are important elements of this step. Finally, the effectiveness of the prior steps must be verified by acting on the chosen alternative, and there must be an assessment of whether the problematic situation has been satisfactorily resolved.

It must be acknowledged that overseas problem situations may differ radically from home country problems. It must also be recognized that overseas duty personnel, if they avail themselves of orientation materials, may depart with lots of information about the new culture setting but with very little in the way of deliberate problem solving strategies to be used when problems are encountered. The accidental, observational-imitative learning that occurs by contact with previously exposed overseas duty personnel may provide one of the only available sources of problem solving experience. The random availability and variable effectiveness of these models is far from an optimal learning opportunity and may do little to enhance the productivity, morale, and satisfaction of successive cohorts of overseas duty personnel.

Among currently available cognitive change methods, systematic rational restructuring and problem solving training provide the basis



for teaching personnel coping strategies to gain more effective control over response to problematic overseas life-situations. Systematic rational restructuring has had its most extensive use in clinical settings in the last two decades, and problem solving training has been used in industrial settings for many years. Both approaches emphasize the teaching and transfer of techniques to trainees so that they can use them on their own in subsequent problematic life-situations. Cross-cultural training programs that integrate the techniques of systematic rational restructuring and problem solving training are definitely viable alternatives to current training methods. Many training programs have a high fact-oriented focus and only incidentally include the coping skills that have been well developed and tested by cognitive behavior change research.

### Stress-Innocation Training

Of those training procedures which combine elements of both social behaviorist and cognitive change approaches, the cognitive-behavior modification methods developed during the last decade seem particularly well-suited to training for the adaptive demands of overseas duty. The stress-innocation training procedures of Meichenbaum (1977) which systematically incorporates coping skills to build tolerance for stress and Novaco's (1979) training for cognitive regulation of anger and stress are representative examples.

As described by Meichenbaum (1977), stress-innocation training reflects a shift from situation-specific responses and problem-specific procedures to a concern with generic coping skills with generalized effectiveness across problematic situations. This more cognitive approach contrasts with traditional desensitization approaches which showed little transfer of lessened stressfulness to fear stimuli which had not been originally deconditioned. After reviewing the then current training methods, Meichenbaum (1977, p. 147) described the complex, multifaceted training procedures used to teach coping skills as having common components including:

1. Teaching the trainee the role of cognitions through both didactic presentation and guided self-discovery.
2. Training in the discrimination and systematic observation of self-statements and images and in self-monitoring of maladaptive behaviors.
3. Training in the fundamentals of problem solving.
4. Modeling of the self-statements and images associated with both overt and cognitive skills.
5. Modeling, rehearsal, and encouragement of positive self-evaluation and of coping and attentional focusing skills.
6. The use of various behavior therapy procedures, such as relaxation training, coping imagery training, and behavioral rehearsal.
7. In vivo behavioral assignments which become increasingly demanding.

Stress-innocation training is based on the biological notion of immunization in which the self-pacing of successful coping with mildly stressful experiences increases tolerance for successive stimuli of somewhat greater intensity. In a psychological sense, the individual's beliefs about control over the environment and one's ability to cope with it are influenced in a positive direction. Stress-innocation training thus focuses specifically on modifying attitudes of "learned helplessness" (Seligman, 1975) to attitudes of "learned resourcefulness." These principles are implicit in some of the more experientially oriented cross-cultural training methods discussed in Section II, but they often lack the essential component of well-assessed, self-pacing that permits increasing exposure to the new culture setting. Mere exposure, no matter how well-intended by trainers or how skillfully conducted, may have as many adverse consequences as it does positive effects if it actually creates over-arousal which exceeds currently available coping capacity.

The actual process of conducting stress-innocation training occurs in three major phases (Meichenbaum, 1977). The first phase (education) is designed to provide the trainee-client with a simplified, non-technical understanding of responses to stressful events. The plausibility and acceptability of the conceptual framework is intended to lead to the presentation of specific cognitive and behavioral coping techniques. For example, despite the controversy surrounding Schachter's (Schachter & Singer, 1962) theory of emotion, its face-validity and plausibility for the stress-innocation trainee helps in understanding how heightened physiological arousal under stress-conditions combined with anxiety engendering self-statements produce a fear reaction. This non-didactic explanation of the educational phase is also designed to encourage the client-trainee to view stress reactions as a series of phases rather than a massive fear reaction. Preparing for a stressor, dealing with a stressor, coping with the possible feeling of being overwhelmed, and reinforcing one's self for having coped constitutes the progression of phases through the components of arousal and accompanying self-statements. Trainee understanding of the phases and components of stress reactions is thought to create sensitivity to antecedent stress cues and to prevent full-blown avoidant stress reactions.

The second phase of stress-innocation training is designed to provide the client-trainee with a variety of coping techniques, including direct action and cognitive coping modes. Direct action might include collecting information about fear situations (this technique is also typical of certain cross-cultural training methods, e.g., the use of critical incidents), and learning relaxation exercises to reduce physiological arousal. Those relaxation exercises which focus on controlling respiration are common to most currently available stress management programs and are typical of this exercise.

Direct action approaches, of course, have been part of standard behavior change procedures for years, but cognitive coping methods have been given more systematic form in the last two decades, and

particularly in the last five years. Cognitive coping methods are based on the assumption that both adaptive and maladaptive responses are mediated by the things people say to themselves. The ongoing internal dialogues of the client-trainee become the focus with expectations, appraisals, attributions, and self-perceptions being translated into specific self-statements that can be monitored for negative content. Anxiety generating self-statements can then serve as the cue for producing coping self-statements incompatible with the anxiety.

The final phase of stress-innocation training involves the application of behavioral and cognitive coping skills to stressful situations other than those in which a limited array of fear-provoking stimuli have been used. In contrast to the results of traditional systematic desensitization training, which appear to alleviate anxiety for only those fear-provoking statements that had been a specific part of the training, stress-innocation trainees report that they can successfully apply their new coping skills in other stressful situations (Meichenbaum, 1977).

Stress-innocation with its emphasis on eliminating self-defeating self-statements is easy to confuse with the popularized "positive thinking" traditions that were prevalent in France in the 1920s and have come to be popular in the United States (e.g., "The Power of Positive Thinking, Think and Grow Rich"). The stress-innocation training described by Meichenbaum and others, however, differs in crucial ways. Stress-innocation training emphasizes incorporating specific self-statements about what incompatible responses will be substituted when and how. By contrast, the positive thinking approaches typically use very general self-statements (e.g., day by day, in every way, I'm getting better and better). The applications phase combined with the rehearsal phase and educational pre-programming appear to exert a much more potent effect on changing behavior under stressful circumstances than does only one of these components applied individually. Although certain elements of stress-innocation are present in current cross-cultural training methods, none combines all of the elements which controlled research demonstrates to be effective with clinical populations under stress. Generalizability of effects to unfamiliar and stressful intercultural situations would be an obvious advantage for cross-cultural training methods, and it is just this aspect of current methods that appears to be lacking when used with relatively inexperienced overseas sojourners.

Since both situationally-specific anger and chronic anger over the course of a sojourn are typically reported as common emotional experiences, it is interesting to consider the application of stress-innocation training to this problem. Novaco (1975, 1979) has done the most extensive analysis of the complex relationship between anger and aggression and the need for a multifaceted training procedure to overcome it. In analyzing the models of stress and response which produce anger reactions, Novaco (1979) suggested that the most pertinent cognitive processes are expectations and appraisals. External circumstances are considered to produce anger only as mediated by their

meaning to the individual. Antecedent cognitive appraisal mechanisms in particular have both a heightening and a diminishing effect on anger and aggression. Culture awareness and attribution oriented cross-cultural training methods may attempt to produce reinterpretations of intercultural events, but often fail to include what it is that can be done about one's cognitive processes in this regard.

As the other major cognitive mediating process, expectations seem particularly pertinent to the anger experienced as part of the intercultural adjustment process. Novaco considers expectations the determinants of anger by inducing arousal in the presence of contextual clues that lead to the labeling of the arousal as anger. This may occur when experiences are discrepant from expectations (as they frequently are in new culture settings), and the discrepancy is negatively valenced. Both of these conditions are found in abundance in intercultural settings. Another way in which expectations operate is in anticipation of aversive events, which may lead to selective perceptions of situational cues which increase the probability of anger. This might reasonably lead to a reconsideration of the wisdom of those cross-cultural training approaches which over-amplify the negative aspects of impending sojourns, often with the unintended consequences of producing heightened sensitivity to certain elements of the new culture setting. A third way in which expectations may lead to anger is when the anger itself is expected to produce desired outcomes. Thus, anger may be seen as an adaptive emotional response insofar as it stimulates problem solving. Under conditions in which there is a low expectation that a conflict will be resolved without antagonism, anger may also be seen as an attempt to achieve control over an aversive event. Whereas anger may occasionally serve as an effective stimulant to problem solving in intercultural settings, its value in attempting to achieve control over aversive intercultural events is so rare that it cannot be recommended as a viable intercultural coping strategy.

Novaco (1979) viewed private speech or internal dialogues as a self-arousal mechanism for both past and ongoing events. Previous provocations are remembered or past events are reinterpreted to produce anger-engendering appraisals. Antagonistic self-statements maintain angry self-statements by focusing attention on aversive aspects of the situation. His stress-innocation training approach to anger management is designed to produce anger-control skills of three basic types: (1) preventive--to avoid anger when it is maladaptive; (2) regulatory--to monitor and regulate arousal and concomittant cognitions when provocation occurs; and (3) executional--to provide the behavioral skills to manage a provocation experience. Suppression of anger is not the goal, but rather regulation of its positive uses and elimination of its disruptive effects as a chronic emotion which impedes effective coping.

Stress-innocation training for anger follows the same basic phases as outlined by Meichenbaum for other types of stress-innocation training. The cognitive preparation phase consists of education about anger arousal, identifying preparations which trigger anger, discussion of adaptive and maladaptive consequences, and introduction of anger

management techniques. The skills application phase partitions control of anger into more manageable units involving preparing for a provocation, meeting the provocation, coping with anger arousal, and reflecting on resolution or non-resolution of the conflict. The applications training phase involves finding opportunities to generalize the use of anger management skills to other provocation situations. One of the interesting results of evaluation of this approach is that trainees report being "task-oriented" in finding a solution rather than threatened into attack when faced with post-training provocations.

#### Applications to Cross-Cultural Training for Overseas Assignment

The selective review above indicates that both traditional social learning theory and the more recent applications of cognitive change research may be applied for improved cross-cultural training leading to overall intercultural adjustment. This adjustment is presumed in turn to relate to enhanced morale and productivity among overseas duty personnel. This section will consider several examples of applications of cognitive-behavioral change approaches to cross-cultural training goals, including systematic desensitization, simulation of problematic intercultural situations, modeling through imitative-observational learning, cognitive restructuring, and stress-innocation training.

Systematic desensitization. Cuthrie (1975) and David (1976) both concluded that some form of the systematic desensitization could be adapted for cross-cultural training purposes. Systematic desensitization would appear to be applicable both for pre-departure training with regard to foreseeable aversive events, and upon arrival in the new culture setting when the sojourner finds that the noxious effects of aversive events seriously detract from performance. Its use as a pre-departure training method could be particularly effective since it may prevent primary appraisals of the new cultural setting as threatening and minimize the development of negative self-appraisals, which might reduce coping attempts once in the new culture setting. As traditionally employed, systematic desensitization involves arraying aversive events from least to most anxiety-provoking and then reducing anxiety reactions by pairing successively more threatening stimuli with a relaxation response which neutralizes the anxiety typically associated with the feared situation. Under clinical conditions, it is fairly easy to prepare the aversive events array because the client-trainee usually has a long history of anxiety experiences to draw upon in its construction. The situation of the overseas sojourner is different in that there may have been only minimal prior exposure to the aversive events in the new culture and insufficient experience in arraying such events in terms of their anxiety-provoking potential. Moreover, selective exposure to pre-departure information may actually have heightened anticipatory anxiety and distorted the relative ranking of certain new culture events. For the purposes of cross-cultural training, it may be necessary, and probably advisable, to develop generic aversive events hierarchies composed of high frequency, high anxiety-provocation events derived from the experiences

of previous sojourners. These could be used in a general pre-departure desensitization training, and individual differences could be incorporated by constructing topically oriented aversive events hierarchies after the sojourner had sufficient overseas exposure.

The training in relaxation response emission which is part of traditional systematic desensitization would probably have some transfer effect and provide sojourners with a portable coping mechanisms for in vivo desensitization of newly encountered aversive events in the host culture. There are several available relaxation training methods which have been recorded on audiocassettes which are commercially available. These are largely self-administering training procedures which are easily acquired and appear to present little difficulty in learning for most people. One of their more appealing and reportedly more effective elements is the teaching of generalized relaxation responses which can be consciously cued and activated across a broad range of aversive events. Since maintaining non-disruptive levels of physiological arousal is very likely a precursor or correlate of most optimal learning conditions, it would probably be beneficial as well in assisting the sojourner in effective learning of the new culture setting.

Simulation of aversive intercultural situations. Simulations of potentially aversive events in the new culture setting have a number of cross-cultural training advantages. It assists in the identification of those events which are most likely to be experienced as aversive in the new culture and which may prove particularly difficult in the actual contact situations. Individual differences apparently play a large role in what is actually experienced as aversive in the overseas setting. Prior to exposure, it is difficult for most persons to predict whether events will be punishing, rewarding, or neutral in effect. Several general schedules of aversive events have been developed (e.g., Overseas Volunteer Questionnaire, Jones & Popper, 1972; Profile of Cross-cultural Readiness, Naval Amphibious School, 1979) which may serve as a beginning basis. In order to be broadly applicable, these types of surveys must be much more refined to include aversive events which vary according to factors such as sex, age, rank, and so on. For example, the increasingly greater numbers of women and ethnic minorities in the Navy indicate that complex intercultural interactions will occur both in the home setting and in new culture settings, and many of these events are not now among those included in overseas events surveys. In addition, there may be little generalization from one overseas setting to another in terms of common aversive events. Periodic revisions of intercultural aversive events surveys would be indicated as more exposure creates greater contact with a host culture or with totally new cultures. Similarly, positive reinforcing events have to be identified as a counterbalance to the aversive events, and these will very likely change from one overseas setting to another.

As a cross-cultural training procedure, the simulation of overseas events has been one of the better developed techniques (Hoopes &

Ventura, 1979). Such methods attempt to incorporate as realistically as possible the experience of being in another culture and illustrate cultural differences by contrasting different values, attitudes, and behavioral traits elicited by the simulations. Role playing of the overseas experience, often with members of the host culture who happen to be available, is a typical part of simulation training. Unfortunately, what exactly is being learned in simulation training is at times vague and merges with unintended observational learning influences which may not be explicit in the training. Closer examination of host culture simulations is needed, especially with those which use generic content to highlight value assumptions and cultural traits. Since much of the effectiveness of this approach assumes that actual adaptive learning is taking place, it is important that the trainer have more than passing familiarity with the host culture. Otherwise, there may be limited generalization of training effects, and actual reinforcement of maladaptive learning strategies may be adopted by the trainee.

Modeling through imitative-observation learning. The role of imitative-observational learning through a modeling process is both explicit and implicit in many cross-cultural training methods. Guthrie (1975) and David (1976) are more explicit in suggesting that modeling be consciously done of the behavior of both effective sojourners and host culture persons. Modeling in these forms is conducive to receiving rewards and avoiding punishment in the new culture setting. The most appropriate models for imitation are typically considered to be those sojourners who have successfully adjusted to the host culture. The range of imitable behaviors is great and includes simple situations, such as buying a bus ticket, as well as complex behaviors, such as how to supervise a culturally different staff. One may also model host country persons in those situations in which they approve or reinforce one another, even though the reason for these behaviors may be less than completely understood.

The most difficult questions regarding deliberate modeling as a cross-cultural training method concern who and what should be modeled. When the persons and the content to be modeled are deliberately chosen as part of formal cross-cultural training, these choices are presumably made on the basis of their potential for enhanced learning of the new culture. However, the more potent models in the new culture setting may be work peers or supervisors, and their roles in learning the new culture may take many forms. The most likely models to be chosen are those who provide the sojourner protection from debilitating anxiety and from whom they obtain approval and acceptance. Social support groups quickly develop overseas and the benefits of membership may involve conformity to stereotypical perceptions of the host culture as seen through dominant group member's eyes. Consequently, one may learn instrumentally effective behaviors through modeling, but may fail to learn effective problem solving strategies of broader applicability in the new culture.

A more systematic approach to modeling behaviors for successful overseas adjustment might incorporate greater control over the amount,

type, sequence, and form of the models to which the newly arrived sojourner is exposed. The gatekeeper function of supervisory or high impact personnel insofar as they constitute salient models for observation and imitation could be considered. Collective intercultural competence of functioning groups might be greatly enhanced by special training for high impact personnel. The modeling potential of various audiovisual stimuli such as films, video tapes, audio recordings, and slide presentations of host cultures has probably not been adequately assessed for cross-cultural training purposes, especially since these often constitute the most readily available sources of learning experience. In addition, the way in which Navy personnel go about learning new cultures, the role of modeling in this process, and the potential for enhanced learning through more systematic modeling opportunities need to be seriously reconsidered.

Cognitive restructuring. Cognitively-oriented training procedures which have emerged in the last decade were implicit in the earlier writings on behavior change approaches to overseas adjustment. The cognitive restructuring described by Meichenbaum (1977), Smith (1980), and Goldfried (1979) are among those currently employed for a variety of stress problems. They appear appropriate and capable of adaptation to the intercultural adjustment process. Although not identified as such, some cross-cultural training methods, such as the Culture Assimilator, values-assumptions awareness, and critical incidents exercises contain a number of elements of cognitive restructuring procedures. They are based on the assumption that awareness of one's own and other's basic values, or learning of isomorphic attributions for the occurrence of misunderstandings or conflicts have a corrective effect on subsequent intercultural behaviors. What they lack is the systematic, direct attempt to convert irrational and ineffective thinking patterns to more adaptive modes of dealing with intercultural stress.

As applied to intercultural adjustment problems, the systematic rational restructuring approach of Goldfried (1979) is a good illustration. As part of an overseas cross-cultural training program the following general outline might be considered:

Presentation of rationale. The cross-cultural trainer would explain the underlying assumptions of rational restructuring and show that what people tell themselves about the overseas environment affects their feelings about the sojourn experience. Simplified explanations with examples taken from intercultural experiences may be used to illustrate the overlearned nature of much of cultural attitudes and perceptions. The specific goal of this step in the training procedure would be to get the trainee to understand the general significance of self-statements in influencing a broad range of behaviors in the overseas setting.

Overview of irrational intercultural assumptions. The next step would involve eliciting from trainees their reactions to various irrational assumptions about intercultural experiences. The source



material for these assumptions might be drawn from those cross-cultural training methods which emphasize contrasting cultural assumptions about motives, social relations, and individual-group relations, or the standard irrational assumptions considered prevalent in American culture might be used. For example, the irrational assumption, "I must be loved and approved by everyone to be a valued person" could be translated to "I must gain acceptance and approval from everyone in the new culture or I am an incompetent person." This, of course, is equally irrational and could well interfere with overseas adjustment. The essential purpose in eliciting reactions to these assumptions is to teach the distinction between the desirability and the absolute necessity of certain life conditions, which inevitably lead to frustration.

A classic irrational intercultural assumption, and one that is clearly not borne out by recent evidence (e.g., Brislin, 1981; Klineberg & Hull, 1979) would be "Everyone must experience intense culture shock and if they don't they must be denying their true feelings." One can only speculate on the amount of physiological arousal (e.g., normal travel fatigue, jet lag, or nutritional influences on blood-sugar level) in the overseas setting that has been mislabeled as culture shock by the well-indoctrinated sojourner. This is not to deny the potential and actual stressfulness of the overseas duty assignment, but rather to context it in terms of situational, task, and individual difference variables in modifying the actual experience. We are far from a useful taxonomy of the stressfulness of overseas settings, let alone understanding of individual coping effectiveness as a mediating factor. Beyond a qualified recognition of the possibility, it would seem to be of questionable benefit to provide cognitive sets for the inevitability and universality of certain negative overseas experience which have been based primarily on anecdotal accounts.

Analysis of trainees' intercultural problems in rational terms. Once the role of self-statements in creating negative feelings and the irrationality of certain beliefs and expectations are understood, the trainer can concentrate on analyzing individual problems. Whether the training is provided as a pre-departure orientation or as part of an ongoing program in the overseas setting would determine somewhat the content of the individual's irrational beliefs. If the former, it would be possible to use the experiences of previous sojourners and elicit agreement with demonstrably ineffective overseas belief statements. If the latter, actual current experiences could be used. In either case, the trainees beliefs are examined for the reality of the interpretation of events and the consequences of the way in which a situation had been labeled.

Teaching trainees to modify self-statements. This is the crucial phase of training in systematic rational restructuring and one which distinguishes it from cross-cultural training methods which focus on creating cultural awareness or isomorphic attributions. An active and deliberate attempt is made to get the trainee to do something differently when negatively aroused. The trainee is taught to observe and use negative emotions (e.g., anger, diffuse anxiety) as a cue to engage in self-dialogue about irrational intercultural statements they may be

making to themselves. The automatic reaction of stress considered typical in overseas settings would thus be at least partially neutralized by replacing alarming self-statements with more realistic appraisals of the situation.

Systematic rational restructuring primarily uses simulated imaginal scenes as situational stimuli during the initial training procedures. The typical experience with clinical populations is that with practice the great majority of people can learn them and almost totally eliminate or greatly minimize the initial emotional upset. It is reasonable to believe that it could be profitably employed with non-clinical populations, such as Navy personnel. Command encouragement may be required, and incentive could be provided for using the same procedures in the day-to-day overseas setting. Even though failure with complex and vague intercultural situations is to be expected, systematic rational restructuring could provide overseas duty personnel with a cognitive coping set that increased self-reinforcement for active coping rather than immobilization or minimally effective passive-coping strategies, such as alcoholism or social withdrawal.

Stress-innocation training. Since it has been used successfully in improving performance with a wide variety of interpersonal tasks, stress-innocation training would appear to be particularly well-suited as a cross-cultural training procedure. Both the more general stress-innocation training procedures proposed by Meichenbaum (1977) and the anger-specific training procedures developed by Novaco (1979) could be adapted.

As described above, stress-innocation training involves educational, rehearsal, and application phases. It is the rehearsal phase in which adaptive self-statements are taught which may be of greatest value for improving intercultural adjustment. In order to enhance their application to the overseas experience, it would probably be advisable to alter the more general coping self-statements to include specific task-oriented content. Thus the statements might take the following form:

Preparing for a stressor

What is it you are expected to do in this particular intercultural situation?

If you're not sure what's expected, try to pick up some cues from the people who have been in the culture for a while.

Don't worry about mistakes, they're going to happen and you will learn something about the culture.

Confronting and dealing with the stressor

Take it one step at a time and you'll be better able to see what's expected of you.

Feeling anxious is very normal in intercultural situations--it's a cue to use your coping abilities.

Coping with fear of being overwhelmed by intercultural situations

When you start to feel fearful in intercultural situations, just pause and give yourself some time to size things up.

Keep your focus on the people in the present situation and think about the culturally appropriate thing to do.

Reinforcing self-statements

You're getting better at these intercultural situations each time you use the coping procedures.

When you control your ideas about intercultural situations you control your fear and enjoy yourself a lot more.

Since intergroup relations in some overseas settings have developed during periods of active conflict, Navy personnel may find themselves in intercultural situations conducive to anger and aggression. They are often the targets of stereotypical perceptions and long-standing animosities which create conditions of heightened probability of conflict. While a certain amount of conflict is unavoidable, the chronic condition of anger may seriously impair morale and productivity. Novaco's training procedure for cognitive regulation of anger appears to have promise in this regard.

In actual practice, cognitive regulation of anger follows much the same procedures as other stress-innocation training methods. The main difference is that the stressors in this case are perceived provocations which must be reinterpreted or reappraised. Not all provocations can be anticipated even under ordinary circumstances, and the overseas setting provides many spontaneous annoyances. However, there will undoubtedly be numerous instances in which recurrent situations with known antagonists can be predicted. Dealing with indifferent or hostile store-clerks or obtaining needed documents from bureaucratic personnel are familiar examples. In the early part of overseas adjustment, it may be particularly easy to create provocation proneness or chronic anger responses which generalize to future interactions in the culture.

Anger prevention or regulation for adaptive purposes follows the three steps of cognitive preparation, skills acquisition, and applications described in detail in a previous section. The variation in the content for the skills acquisition phase in overseas settings might be adapted from Novaco (1979) as follows:

Preparing for a provocation

It's easy to get irritated in intercultural situations but I can handle it.

Remember not to take things personally. They may be reacting to some general view of Navy persons, not me in particular. It takes time to learn how to get things done in this culture.

Impact and confrontation

Getting mad won't help. Keep your sights on what you have to do and understanding the way this culture operates.

Look for positive signs that you're going about it in a way that's understood in this culture.

#### Coping with arousal

Here come those angry feelings. It's time to slow down and focus on figuring out the way it's done in this culture. Take it easy, don't get pushy and remember to use your relaxation techniques.

#### Subsequent reflection

(Conflict unresolved)

Don't take it personally. You probably don't understand the cues in this culture yet.

What could have been more effective in that particular situation.

(Conflict resolved)

I'm getting better and better at figuring out this culture.

It looks like I've been getting upset when it wasn't even necessary.

Several experienced practitioners concur on the use of applied social learning procedures for preventive interventions with high risk populations (e.g., Beech, 1978; Goldfried, 1979; Meichenbaum, 1977). Overseas duty personnel certainly constitute a population at risk for whom more effective preparation and training is required. An explicit program that taught a broad range of cognitive coping skills by using techniques such as modeling, cognitive restructuring, and stress-innocation to cope with the variety of stressors in the overseas setting would stand in stark contrast to the erratic manner in which most sojourners now learn to handle intercultural adjustment problems.

One of the distinct advantages of cognitive behavior change methods is that they combine the basic elements of deutero-learning (learning to learn) as described in a variety of cross-cultural training approaches (e.g., Casse, 1980). The coping skills and problem solving emphasis can thus be used across a variety of behavior settings to develop skills appropriate to the task environment. This could prove particularly useful for the range of Navy duty assignments. The degree of intercultural task complexity and the resources required to cope successfully with these tasks will probably vary in homeported, shore-duty, deployed, and high impact assignments. Unfortunately, the intercultural task demands of these various assignments lack the kind of specification that might make fact-oriented cross-cultural training adequate. Moreover, the intercultural task demands vary in different culture settings such that there is a complex interaction between type of duty assignment and culture. While fact-oriented cross-cultural training may prove useful as a general orientation, successful intercultural adaptation and effective performance in various duty assignments require integrated coping skills which can be applied to solve problems as they occur.

#### IV. SOCIAL SUPPORT FACTORS IN OVERSEAS TRAINING

##### General Themes

Training approaches typically fail to deal with the broader social context in which overseas duty occurs, particularly in terms of social support systems. An accumulating body of behavioral sciences research suggests the roles such systems can play. Much of this research is of direct relevance to Navy overseas training, but needs review, integration, and focus. In particular, there are three major areas of relevance. First, one of the primary sources of stress produced by transitional experiences such as relocation overseas is the disruption of a person's social support systems. Second, one of the primary strategies for coping with the greater stress involved in overseas duty is the utilization of available social support systems such as the family. Third, social support systems like the family are frequently hindered in providing adequate support overseas because they, too, are often under a great deal of stress and are not functioning optimally.

##### The Nature of Social Support Systems and the Impact of Their Disruption

A social support system is a network of ties with other people and groups that plays a significant part in mediating a person's physical and psychological health over time (Caplan, 1974; Nair, 1980). Potential systems include the family, friends, neighbors, work associates, religious groups, recreational and educational associations, formal and informal counselors, mutual assistance associations, etc. They can serve human needs for affiliation; reinforcement; recognition; affirmation; assistance in mobilizing psychological resources; sharing tasks; validation of perceptions, beliefs, and actions; a host of resources including money, skills, and information; advice in handling life situations; and sometimes just the sharing of experiences--positive and negative.

Focusing specifically on the family, Caplan (1976) identifies the following as major support functions: a collector and disseminator of information about the world, a feedback guidance system, a source of ideology, a guide in problem solving, a source of practical aid, a haven for rest and recuperation, a reference group, a source and validator of identity, and a contributor to emotional mastery, particularly in periods of transition. He also points out limiting conditions involving requirements for free communication among members and interpersonal relationships that are supportive rather than pathogenic in nature. Goldberg (1980) further warns that the contemporary, western nuclear family is in fact often poorly equipped to adequately handle stress, separation and isolation, conflicts, value differences, and conflicting individual goals. He stresses that this is especially likely in relocation situations in which the entire family is under stress.

As mentioned previously, major stressors produced by intercultural interaction in overseas duty are a lack in social perception verification, new stimuli with little or ambiguous meaning, and misunderstanding new and diverse experiences. Adequate social support systems can provide the social comparison (see Festinger, 1954) information needed to make more confident attributions over events upon which to base predictions, decision making, and actual behavior (Fontaine, 1974). Likewise, to the extent the attributions or attitudes are shared--which they frequently are since most systems are culturally homogeneous--the need for validation as well as verification is served (Bass & Ryterband, 1979). With inadequate support, problems begin to arise, however.

O'Donnell (1980) reviews a variety of research indicating that inadequate social support is associated with a range of problems including: psychopathology, high death rates, susceptibility to brain-washing, poor job performance, and poor job retention. The identification of the consequences of a lack in social support, and the mechanism(s) by which the effect occurs (see Sarason, Sarason, & Johnson, 1980), is somewhat less developed than desired. The general theme of the research, however, is that lack of support is associated with stress manifested in a number of debilitating ways depending on the person and the situation. From a stress-strain model, Payne (1980) discusses both "direct-effect" and "buffering" explanations for the effects of lack of social support. The model, utilizing terminology taken from structural engineering, differentiates between stress (which is an environmental force) and strain (which is a psychological reaction to that force). Inadequate social support can increase the amount of situational stress directly and, thus, the amount of psychological strain experienced; or inadequate support can fail to buffer situational stress and, therefore, increase strain. There is empirical support for both, and, most likely, conditions in which one, or the other, or both are manifested. As is frequently the case, more focused research is needed to identify those conditions.

#### The Impact of Social Support Systems on Coping

A plethora of studies have demonstrated that social support systems can serve important coping functions in a wide variety of contexts involving physical, psychological, and behavioral disorders (Cobb, 1976; McMichael, 1980; Orford, 1980). Orford, for instance, reviews evidence that people enmeshed in social support systems have fewer than average psychological problems and that lack of support--particularly parental support--produces social competency problems in children, lower self-esteem in adolescents, and anti-social problems in both adolescents and adults. Some of the most compelling evidence for the use of social support systems to aid coping comes from people involved in natural disasters, combat, concentration camps, and other relatively extreme situations. While psychological coping mechanisms are frequently surprisingly well-developed in such situations, they are often insufficient by themselves for adequately dealing with environmental stressors (Payne, 1980). While overseas relocation is seldom as acutely stressful

as these situations, use of social support systems nevertheless can be important in coping. In fact, Coehlo et al. (1980) point to the use of social support systems, information acquisition, and anticipation and rehearsal of behavior as the strategies of most use in relocation. Not all types of social support are significantly effective in all situations, however. Wells (1977), for instance, found that supervisor and spouse support, but not peer support, were effective in mitigating the effect of stress on health in work settings. In general, we expect social systems overseas to play the same kinds of support roles they do at home, but keyed to the overseas context. They can provide: information about problems, resources, and opportunities in the overseas site; they can provide a source of feedback about perceptions of and interactions with other cultures; they can provide ideological validation and a source of comfort or rest from the stress and fatigue of dealing with a new environment; they can provide companionship in exploring that environment and share the responsibilities of handling it; and, as we shall see, they can provide a context for cross-cultural training and a source of continuing cross-cultural orientation programs.

Turning to specific criteria, Cowan (1980) elaborates on the important role that social support systems can play in coping with problems of psychological adjustment. He quotes the Report of the President's Commission on Mental Health (1978) in which the first recommendation is based, in part, on findings that formal mental health services deal with only a fraction of the mental health problems in any community. Other work has demonstrated the role of social support and/or the perception of social support in satisfaction associated with stressful situations (Bass & Ryterband, 1979; Johansen, 1978; Payne, 1980). O'Donnell (1980) presents data relating social support of supervisors and peers to performance and retention in an organizational setting. He also points out, however, the potential negative effects of social support systems, i.e., they can provide support for undesirable behaviors as well (e.g., delinquency, drug use, unemployment, etc.). A key point is that, while social support can provide a potentially effective aid in minimizing adjustment problems and maximizing satisfaction, performance, and retention in stress situations, the potential will be realized only under certain circumstances: when the support encourages acquisition of skills through instruction, analysis, modeling, or other techniques that are likely to minimize adjustment problems and maximize performance. For instance, if personal adjustment overseas is a goal, support from or modeling of relatively adjusted rather than maladjusted persons is likely to be most beneficial.

#### The Impact of Overseas Relocation on Social Support Systems

Social support systems can play a key role in helping people cope during relocations, but, at the same time, relocation frequently puts severe stress on many of those same systems--particularly the family. When relocation is overseas and accompanied by the culture, climate, and other differences discussed earlier, the stress is exacerbated. The problem is large: in 1970, there were over 1.7 million Americans living

overseas in both military and civilian roles (Werkman, 1980). Loewenthal and Snedden (1981) describe the typical context of families relocated overseas by multinational corporations in a manner related to the military, i.e., primary concern is given to getting the employee working on the job as soon as possible. Only as an afterthought (if at all) is support usually given to the family. They also emphasize the problems that this lack of concern can have on the family as a unit, the family in its role as a support system for the employee, and for the corporation. It typically costs \$55,000 to \$150,000 to transfer someone overseas. Therefore, bringing them home because of productivity problems, adjustment problems, or family problems is expensive. In fact, a recent survey of American corporations overseas found that early return added 54 percent to budgeted relocation costs (Update, 1980). Loewenthal and Snedden point out that for a fraction of the cost (\$500 to \$1000 per family unit) a training program could be delivered to protect the investment.

In terms of individual family members, the employee, like the serviceman or woman, is often the least affected by relocation because they participate in a structured work organization or service environment often not too different from that at home. It is the spouse and/or the children that often must interact most frequently and intimately with the host culture in shopping, obtaining necessary services, education, and recreation. As mentioned, they are typically given the least preparation. Though research indicates that the effects of relocation on children are mixed in terms of both social adjustment and academic achievement (Goldberg, 1980), adolescents appear to be particularly vulnerable due to the stress of the joint transitions of relocation and puberty (McKain, 1976).

#### The Extended Family, Intimate Relationships, and Self-Help Groups

Most literature on the support functions of social systems has focused on the nuclear family or the work organization. There is also evidence, however, of the importance of other systems such as the extended family (Litwak, 1960), self-help groups, and intimate dyadic relationships, particularly in transitional experiences such as relocation overseas. Cochrane and Sobol (1980) and Duck (1980) emphasize the role of intimate relationships in preventing, moderating, and coping with stress. In fact, frequently one or two close friendships may be as critical in mitigating stress from many sources, including relocation, with the host of larger, more formal, social support systems. AmaraSingham (1980) discusses the role of the interruption of close friendships in producing stress overseas and the critical role of developing new friendships in adjustment overseas. Rivers and Fontaine (1979) report data indicating the importance of close intercultural friendships on satisfaction with the intercultural experience. There are, however, problems of access and differences in culture--particularly with respect to the development, nature, and role of friendships--that can make the development and maintenance of close friendships with people from other cultures difficult (AmaraSingham, 1980;



Fontaine & Dorch, 1980).

The issue of the relative emphasis that should be placed on developing friendships with home country or host country nationals is also important. There are advantages and disadvantages to both (AmaraSingham, 1980; Klineberg, 1980). Establishing friendships primarily with other home country nationals living in the host country is initially relatively easy but can produce more difficult long-term adjustment to the degree the person must be dependent upon the host culture for resources. Friendships with host country nationals are initially more difficult to establish, but may ease long-term adjustment. Those who successfully establish these latter relationships, however, may have more difficulty with "reverse culture shock" when they return home than those who never really became integrated into the host culture.

Self or mutual help groups also have been shown to have useful coping functions in transitional experiences for a diversity of people (Dumont, 1976; Killilea, 1976; Speigal, 1976). They typically are composed of people with common problems who come together, sometimes with the assistance of appropriate professionals, to provide a support mechanism to better help themselves and other group members. Problems range from drugs to loneliness to marital problems. Participants are usually voluntary although there are instances in the military or the criminal justice system where that is questionable. Killilea outlines a number of functions of such groups which are appropriate to coping with overseas relocation: sharing common experiences, providing help and support; associating with successful adjusters; development of collective will power; providing information; and assisting constructive action toward shared goals. Silverman (1980) presents a detailed description of the development of mutual help groups that has practical implications for social skills training programs.

#### Social Support Systems and Enhancing Opportunities Overseas

Social support systems can play an important role in enhancing the opportunities in overseas assignment as well as coping with the problems. They can provide information about the opportunities available in an overseas site for adventure, cultural exploration, recreation, and education. They can encourage and provide suggestions for taking advantage of those opportunities. They can provide companionship and shared experiences. It is often much easier and more fun to explore a new culture in the company of others. AmaraSingham (1980) and Fontaine and Dorch (1980) both stress the important opportunities for personal growth associated with the establishment of close intercultural relationships. Thus, any program incorporating the development or use of social support systems would be underutilizing such systems if attention were not paid, in part, to their potential for enhancing overseas opportunities. The more personnel take advantage of such opportunities, the more likely they will be satisfied with their relocation. The implications for the organizational, personnel, and diplomatic criteria of concern to the Navy are apparent.

### Social Support Systems in the Navy

The major themes outlined above are also manifested in literature focusing more specifically on the roles that social support systems play in the military, in general, and the Navy, in particular: the impact of the disruption of social support systems on stress, the use of social support systems in coping with stress, and the impact of relocation on the functioning of social support systems. Across the themes, however, the amount of research of direct applicability to overseas duty is relatively sparse.

#### The Nature and Impact of Social Support Systems in the Navy

There is a variety of military and civilian social support systems available to Navy personnel and their dependents. They range from Family Service Centers to the Navy League to the USO. Complementing more formal, structured systems are strong informal, traditional supports for dealing with stress (Montalvo, 1976). Unfortunately the availability of the military--and civilian--systems is more limited overseas, where they are most needed. Such is particularly the case for those living off base (McKain, 1973). Studies on overseas relocation generally indicate serious problems for both service persons and their dependents in adjusting to disrupted social networks along with cultural differences and new living conditions. These problems will affect organizational, personnel, and diplomatic criteria of concern to the Navy.

Glidewell (1972) found a relationship between social isolation and susceptibility to "brainwashing" during the Korean War. Fanning (1967) found that lack of social support, in the form of social isolation, of military dependents produced higher rates of health-related problems. Grace et al. (1976) found that social support of the service person by the spouse related importantly to actual reenlistment in the Navy. One of the important determinants of satisfaction with the Navy appears to be the ability to cope with the frequent stressors produced by relocation; social support systems have been shown to significantly aid coping in both military (Williams, 1976) and related non-military contexts (e.g., Dorman, 1977 for foreign service spouses; Loewenthal & Snedden, 1981, for families relocated overseas by multinational corporations).

There is evidence that, for the Navy family, the break-up of social networks associated with overseas relocation is more disruptive and stressful to family members than the separation from the service person (usually the father) during deployment and that disruption is particularly critical to the identity formation and personal growth experiences of children (Hill, 1976). McKain (1976) reviews studies showing that family problems in the military are greater if the family is not integrated into a supportive network of community memberships and activities--particularly overseas. He presents data showing a strong correlation between feelings of alienation in Army family members

and family problems associated with relocation. Further, the enlisted families who had the greatest difficulty in relocation turned least frequently to community resources for help. These latter families relied on the more informal assistance of peers and neighbors--though it is unclear whether the reason was preference or access.

#### The Increasing Importance of the Family in the Navy

A social support system with an overseas role of primary importance to the Navy is the family. Along with many other major recent changes in the Navy has been an increase in the number of families. The increase is significant in terms of its impact on Navy policies. Today 54 percent of the approximately 520,000 Navy men and women are married and have close to 600,000 primary dependents (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, n.d.; Orthner & Nelson, 1980). An additional 7 percent are single parents with 8,550 dependents. Eighty percent of Navy men and women with four or more years of experience are married. The significance of the increased number of Navy families has led to a number of conferences on family related issues (e.g., the First National Conference on Military Family Research in 1977 and the Navywide Family Awareness Conference in 1978) and a major emphasis on the Navy's Family Support Program.

The Family Support Program's mission is "to improve Navy's awareness of and access to, reliable and useful information, resources, and services that support and enrich the lives of Navy families and single service members" (Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, n.d.). The major component is an expanding network of Family Service Centers designed to "serve as an information, referral, and followup system; to coordinate family-related resources; and to provide direct assistance in selected areas such as personal or marriage counseling" (Eyre, 1980). Areas of concern include: personal and family enrichment, personal marriage and child counseling, consumer education, child development, parent education, relocation services, spouse abuse, and rape or sexual assault counseling. Another component of the Program is the Family Advocacy Program focusing more specifically on spouse abuse, child abuse, rape, and other forms of sexual assault.

The Final Report of the Navywide Family Awareness Conference (1978) makes a number of specific recommendations for the family overseas. These recommendations focus on suitability screening, the Navy sponsor program, pre-departure information, orientation and adjustment training, status of forces agreements, overseas quality of life, funding appropriations for personnel support programs, command support for people related programs, family living overseas, family income overseas, quality of education for dependent children overseas, family counseling services overseas, child care centers overseas, and support for morale, welfare, and recreation. In terms of training, the Conference made two major recommendations: (1) to offer training courses to families on intercultural adaptation, and (2) to establish a family overseas preparation center at all major points of debarkation to conduct pre-

departure training programs for family units. These recommendations are discussed in more detail below in the context of implications from the social support system literature for overseas training.

#### Social Support Systems and Training for Overseas Duty

The above review indicates that social support systems can play several key roles in overseas training programs. First, such systems can serve as an important content area in training. For instance, programs can include training on what social support systems are, the alternative systems that are available in an overseas duty site, how to get involved in them, how they can be used effectively to reduce stress or maximize opportunities, and how to maintain them. Second, social support systems themselves can provide a context for training. Since the family or work group will be functioning overseas together, joint training would both facilitate training effectiveness and strengthen the social unit. Third, these systems can be a source of continuing programs offering supplementary training. For example, after formal overseas training has terminated, church, educational, or residential groups can continue to incorporate cross-cultural orientation along with their other activities.

Training effectiveness is likely to be maximized by utilizing social support systems in complementary combinations of the above roles. In order to do that, however, there must be a practical understanding of the critical variables associated with each role. Such variables are likely to include those common to "service" systems in general (see Owan, 1980) such as: (1) the availability of a selection of support systems; (2) the appropriateness of the systems to critical personnel needs likely to impact adjustment and productivity; (3) the assessability of those systems to personnel at the time of need; (4) the acceptability of the systems in terms of responsiveness to racial or ethnic perspectives and lack of perceived racism; (5) the continuity of the systems throughout the duration of overseas assignment; and (6) the acceptance of the training program by the systems.

Our general perspective is that Navy personnel assigned overseas must be provided with the high level of social support requisite for personal adjustment and productivity in any environment. However, in addition to the broad range of needs necessary for effective functioning at home, overseas personnel are often exposed to differences in culture, climate, and topography that put special burdens on support systems. Thus, personnel are likely to have a greater need for social support systems and, at the same time, are less able to find, or develop them, for themselves. Serious consideration of the role of social support systems in overseas adjustment should ease over-reliance on formal overseas training programs and other service delivery programs and, at the same time, further more sophisticated use of those programs and sophisticated incorporation of social support systems in a total training package.

### Social Support Skills as a Content of Overseas Training Programs

Although most people most of the time have adequate social support systems for existing needs, when the stress load is heavy, additional support is required. Relocation overseas requires such additional support. Thus training people in the skills to reestablish supportive networks overseas should have a valuable preventative function in terms of serious adjustment, effectiveness, or diplomacy problems.

O'Donnell (1980) suggests that training in the skills necessary to develop and participate in social support systems should be combined with a program for increasing the opportunities for participation. For instance, communities can be broken up into smaller units producing undermanning characteristics (fewer people than needed social roles) that require broader participation in neighborhood gatherings, recreation groups, social clubs, etc. That is, as a large social unit is broken down into smaller units, each smaller unit retains approximately the same number of required roles. However, there are fewer people in each smaller unit to fill the roles producing both a greater pressure for social involvement and more ready acceptance of a greater range of persons occupying roles. Another technique involves maximizing functional proximity to those social support systems of most potential usefulness by improving communication and transportation and arranging for flexible and predictable work hours.

There is research supporting the effectiveness of social skills training programs focusing on aiding the development and maintenance of specific social support systems (e.g., see Joanning, Brock, & Avery, 1980 for marriage and family systems; Silverman, 1980, for mutual help groups). However, more intensive investigation of the effects and generalizability of such training using better measurement instruments and research design is required. Nevertheless, there is a general sense in the literature for some key issues in training of direct relevance to overseas duty support in the Navy.

The review of literature on the role of social support systems in transitional experiences in general and overseas relocation in particular leads to the identification of several categories of social skills useful in maximizing the support role of social systems. These are generic skill categories and can include both culture specific and process skills. Both would be the key components of a social skills training approach to preparation for overseas duty. While information appropriate to the development and use of social support systems at a particular overseas site is important, it should be complemented by training in process skills appropriate for the particular family or individual in many contextually different sites. This latter approach is emphasized in the basic categories described below.

Exploring and scouting. Steele (1980) stresses the importance of the skill of learning quickly about the "structure, resources, possibilities, surprises, and threats in an unfamiliar setting"--how to get what is needed and stay out of trouble. The skill involves learning

effective methods of identifying key features in the new environment that are critical to adjustment and effective behavior. Systematic observation, unplanned wandering, and focused searching can all be components of the skill, as is the timing, of these activities relative to others. Assignment to duty overseas involves confrontation with just the unfamiliar settings and cultures that would make exploring and scouting particularly salient. A key component would be the early recognition of the loss of previous social supports, the impact that loss is likely to have on criteria of relevance to the Navy, and the necessity of finding alternative support systems.

Identifying available social support systems. Once the necessity of finding social support systems has been recognized, strategies can be implemented to identify the social support systems available in the new overseas duty context. These systems can be military or civilian, centered in the home or host culture or the intersection between them, and formal or informal in structure. They could include work groups, self-help groups, recreation groups, the family, opposite sex relationships, religious groups, etc. Strategies can involve making contact with various assistance centers, inquiries through sponsors or informal social contacts, monitoring newspapers or club notices, visiting recreational facilities, educational facilities, or churches. A key component is the identification of which combinations of these strategies are likely to be effective at a particular site.

Matching available social support systems with personal needs. Obviously not all available social support systems are appropriate to the needs of a particular person. Some matching of need and system must be made. Steele suggests that the skill involves at least a two-step process: the diagnostic step of identifying what one wants to do and the matching step of selecting the systems that are most appropriate to that need. While the process is frequently based on habit or past experience, in new overseas settings there may be few systems with prior equivalencies. In such instances, the innovative skill in matching needs to different social systems in new ways can be a critical one. One frequently hears the complaint from people living in a new overseas environment that there is nothing to do or no one to do anything with. Often what is really meant is that there is nothing familiar to do and no one familiar to do it with.

Making contact. Once appropriate social support systems have been selected, interpersonal skills involved in making contact with other persons in the system are important. Many formal systems have structured mechanisms to introduce newcomers to the group. In less formal settings, however, more informal interpersonal skills are required. Several recent social skills training programs have focused on training in just these skills (e.g., Singleton et al., 1980). However, to the degree that interaction with host nationals is required, the process can be difficult and training in intercultural interaction skills useful (Brislin, 1981; Fontaine & Dorch, 1980). The research on the specific skills involved in forming and maintaining intercultural relationships is still relatively embryonic, however.

Quick personalization. Steele points out that people differ in the extent to which they feel at home in new or temporary surroundings. They have different degrees of skill in altering their new surroundings (e.g., their home) or enjoying customary activities (e.g., jogging) in a way that makes the place seem personal or helps them develop a sense of belonging. The skill in doing this quickly, and in having a variety of strategies for doing it, is likely to be particularly important for those who must relocate overseas frequently and for those to whom relocations involve substantial changes in culture, climate, or topography. Oftentimes, social support systems can be utilized to achieve both—but it may take imagination. Not feeling at home or "home sickness" can frequently be major impediments to adjustment and effectiveness overseas.

Social system understanding. Once contact has been made with appropriate social support groups and significant interaction has been initiated, more detailed knowledge of the social system is critical in order to maintain or increase involvement. Steele stresses the need for training in being sensitive to system norms and values and doing so prior to making major errors which can quickly cut off future association with the group. He further stresses the need for skills in influencing the system so that it is responsive to one's needs. These skills are generally more system or relationship maintenance skills, than the "get acquainted" skills mentioned previously, and are represented in research on families under stress (Joanning et al., 1980; Weiss, 1976), particularly during relocation overseas (Marsh, 1976).

Reentry or relocation skills. As discussed earlier, the stress associated with reentry is often at least as severe after a long-term overseas assignment as initial relocation. Likewise, adequate adjustment to one overseas site does not necessarily imply an easier adjustment to the next. Training in skills associated with reentry, roughly equivalent to the generic categories discussed above, would be an important part of a comprehensive training program. An additional category focusing on skills for reestablishing contact and participation with the nuclear family, extended family, friends, neighbors, and other social support groups back home is necessary. Reestablishing participation can be difficult in part because, if the absence has been long, the person's or family's role in the system has usually been taken over by others, i.e., the system has changed. It can also be difficult because the person or family has changed as a result of their overseas experiences. Not infrequently, it is easier to make new friendships than reestablish old ones. Thus, reentry can closely approximate relocation to a "new" site. It is particularly because of the existence of problems associated with reentry or relocation that stress on process or culture general skills, in addition to culture specific skills, should be included in overseas training programs.

Although the skills in the use of social support systems discussed above are important to most personnel assigned to overseas duty, the relative importance of each generic category and the specific skill strategies most effective for each category are likely to depend

on a number of contextual variables. The weighting of categories and the detailing of specific strategies would serve as the essential core content of any training program for overseas personnel that stresses the use of social support systems to reduce problems and maximize opportunities. The context variables suggested by the literature as being of most concern in this respect are presented below.

Type of duty. The extent to which social support systems are necessary to further the organizational, personnel, and diplomatic criteria of concern to the Navy; the systems likely to be most appropriate; and the specific skills most effective in utilizing them vary with the type of overseas duty to which the person is assigned.

Personnel assigned to high impact roles probably require ready skills in all the generic categories mentioned in order to continue to be effective in their role. Because of the necessity and intimacy of their interactions with host country nationals and relative isolation from home nationals, particular concern should be on acquisition of skills for participating in social support systems within the host culture, i.e., intercultural interaction skills. Though the duration of their assignment and intimacy of their contact should allow the development of relatively refined skills, because of the "high impact" nature of their roles, the development of such skills prior to major mistakes is critical. Thus, persons assigned to high impact roles overseas should receive optimal screening and training efforts directed principally at skills in establishing involvement with important host social systems. Identification of systems likely to be important would be a major content of such a training effort.

Personnel assigned to shore duty or homeported units overseas will also require skills in all the generic categories mentioned above, but because of the less frequent necessity and intimacy of their interactions with host nationals and the general availability of home country nationals, more balanced concern on acquisition of skills for participating in home and host country social support systems would be appropriate. As with high impact sites, shore duty and homeported units vary widely in the types of social support services available; although many personnel have access to Family Service Centers, self-help groups, and, of course, many have families. Again, identification of just which social support systems are likely to be important at the specific site would be a major content area of training. Training should focus on a combination of culture or site specific skills and process skills for participation in those systems.

Personnel assigned to deploying units overseas require particular emphasis on process skills in each category since they most commonly visit several overseas sites on a single tour with the duration of each visit typically less than one week. Thus, opportunity for anything but superficial, much less intimate, involvement with host nationals or social support systems including host nationals is likely to be very limited. Likewise, the range of support systems available involving home country nationals is relatively limited as well. Nevertheless,



visiting overseas ports while deployed represents a major opportunity for adventure, stimulation, education, and personal growth and for many is what the Navy is all about. To take maximum advantage of this opportunity, cross-cultural training appropriate to each overseas site should be complemented by training in social support skills. Although social support groups available will frequently be limited to shipboard personnel, adequate skills in exploration, identification of available systems, matching systems with needs, and making contact can be vital in expanding the range of opportunities beyond pierside bars. It is often more fun and enriching (and less stressful) to explore new environments in the company of a support group--particularly if the exploration involves new activities and interaction with new cultures.

Marital status. The extent to which social support systems are necessary to aid the organizational, personnel, and diplomatic criteria of concern; the types of appropriate systems; and the skills most effective in utilizing them also vary with the marital status of the person assigned overseas and, if married, several family-related variables.

Personnel assigned overseas who are single require participation in a range of social support systems corresponding to their civilian counterparts. Frequently, such a range is not readily available, however, with home nationals. With host nationals, the range may be limited or the systems inaccessible. Often support needs are focused on primary opposite sex relationships which are often also very limited--again, particularly with host nationals. Thus, a major burden is placed on the development of innovative skills in identifying from the narrowed range of social systems available those that can be utilized to meet support requirements and to make maximal use of them. A major focus of training single persons for overseas duty would then be to help them acquire those skills.

Personnel assigned overseas who are married have somewhat different circumstances. If their family is CONUS, then there are the major issues of separation to deal with (see Montalvo, 1976, for a useful account of required support services in the Army) that have direct implications for social skills training. In essence, members of the separated family must develop skills in maintaining mutual communication and dependency while still participating in local social support systems that do not alter the integrity of the relationship. The dual stressors of separation and overseas assignment put these personnel at high risk of adjustment difficulties and attention to providing effective skills in coping with those difficulties is needed.

If the family is accompanying the person assigned overseas, a somewhat different array of skills is required. On the one hand, each family member must have skills in maintaining family functioning under the stress of overseas assignment as well as skill in seeking outside assistance or support for the family should difficulties arise. Again, defining the need, identifying appropriate available support systems, and making contact with these systems are important skills. Social

skills training programs focusing on the family as a social support system are being developed (Joanning et al., 1980). On the other hand, each family member must also have skills in finding and participating in social support systems outside the family to meet personal needs. Often an impossible support burden is placed on the family overseas because members do not have the skills to fulfill some of their personal requirements outside the family as they would at home. Thus, it is not an individual, but a complex of individuals that may require special skills with respect to social support systems overseas. This situation is particularly complex when the family includes children (Goldberg, 1980; Darnauer, 1976), although the impact is mediated by the children's ages, educational opportunities available, access to home and host country friends, etc. The degree to which the children can adjust to the overseas site can have a major effect on the satisfaction with the Navy of the personnel assigned overseas. The implication for training all family members in overseas skills is thus apparent and discussed further at a later point in this review.

Ethnicity. Needless to say, the Navy itself is not ethnically or culturally homogeneous. The experiences of Anglos, Blacks, Chicanos, Filipinos, American Indians, Native Hawaiians, Samoans, Puerto Ricans, etc. in the Navy are not the same. There is ample anecdotal evidence that the experiences are not the same overseas either. Discrimination, lack of culturally appropriate activities or programs, lack of social or organizational influence, and interethnic hostility do not disappear upon assignment overseas. In fact, it is likely that without special attention the stress of overseas living combined with the lowered access to civilian social support systems for many of these groups may make overseas assignment particularly unpleasant. Added to this are the frequently ambivalent (at best) relations between persons or families from some ethnic groups and host country nationals. Members of ethnic minorities may require particularly innovative skills in identifying social systems appropriate to their needs from the more limited range of systems available. Training programs in social support skills overseas must, then, include ethnicity as a context variable. Different ethnic groups need different training content (Tucker, 1980) simply because each to some degree varies in its overseas duty context. They may also require different training techniques and increased administrative attention to the development of ethnically relevant activities and programs (e.g., Final Report of the Navywide Family Awareness Conference, 1978).

A related issue concerns those involved in intercultural marriages whether between home country nationals (e.g., Black/White marriages) or between a home country national and a foreign born spouse (Fontaine & Dorch, 1980; Kim, 1972). These are relationships that in certain contexts may be at high risk because of a relative lack of both formal and informal social support systems and, in some case, either subtle or blatant hostility from other home nationals or host nationals. The number of these relationships is rapidly increasing and they, too, need a somewhat specialized social skills training content to support their overseas relocation.

Sex. In a similar sense to the way the Navy overseas experience can be different for different ethnicities, it can be different for male and female Navy personnel as well. Particularly in cultures in which sex role expectations are very different from Western culture, women will find their opportunities for interaction limited or restricted to roles that they may not wish to accept. They may either be forced to rely more heavily than men on home country nationals for social support, develop especially complex interactions skills, or, like ethnic minorities, be more innovative in matching needs to systems. With the increasing number of women entering the Navy and assigned overseas, the issue takes on significance for overseas duty support programs. For our purposes, the key issue is that the specific social support system participation skills of exploring, identifying available systems, matching personal needs to systems, making contact, etc. are likely to be somewhat different for women than men; once these differences are identified, they should be reflected in training content. At this point, the data on women Navy personnel assigned overseas, or women in any employment situation overseas, for that matter, are scarce. Where data do exist, they are largely anecdotal (e.g., see Hartaloma & Kaman, 1975, with Peace Corps volunteers).

#### Social Support Systems as the Context for Training

In addition to skills in the utilization of social support systems serving as a content of training programs to prepare personnel for overseas duty, social systems themselves, can provide the context for training. Rather than focusing training on individuals and limiting training to individual-level social skills, training can more effectively be focused on meaningful social units which comprise social support systems (in whole or in part) and be expanded to include group based social skills. That is, individuals can be trained as a unit with training focusing on increasing sensitivity to a number of variables related to the group overseas, such as: group norms, expectations, and values; awareness of interaction patterns; group and individual coping strategies; changes in individual and group morale and other transitions; communication problems; friction; leadership problems; productivity or efficiency problems; etc. Many of these skills are available in Human Relations Management training. Such training should both assist the unit in functioning overseas, maximize the social support potential, and increase group cohesiveness. There are a number of social units for which this approach would have potential usefulness. Any given program might consider focusing training on one or more units as complementary components of an overseas training program. Some of these units are presented below.

The cohort unit. Though the Navy, unlike the Army, more typically assigns personnel overseas on an individual basis, there are exceptions such as with deploying units and Construction Battalion units. Particularly with the latter, the Navy's ODSP currently trains these individuals in cohort units (i.e., units which go overseas together, stay together, and return together). Training, however, could emphasize

group based social skills in addition to the more anthropologically based cross-cultural material commonly presented. Attempts could also be made to identify other naturally occurring cohort groups. Even though most personnel are assigned overseas individually, a significant number of individuals often relocate to large overseas sites sufficiently close in time to constitute cohorts. For instance, approximately 900 Navy and Marine personnel per month arrive in Hawaii. In smaller overseas sites, assignment policy might be altered to more closely approximate a cohort relocation pattern--particularly in those sites where adjustment is most problematic. The relative homogeneity of a cohort in terms of experience with the overseas site can have the advantage of efficiency from simplification of the training content. On the other hand, that same homogeneity, if not compensated for by other means, can be a disadvantage in that the trainee input is of more limited usefulness and the option for more experienced trainees to provide role models is more restricted.

The work unit. The advantage of focusing on work units in training is essentially that it is often with this group that the individual is likely to spend the most time overseas and the group that for many either serves as the primary social support systems, itself, or serves as the pool of relationships from which the primary support system is derived. Often the problems of adjusting to the overseas site and interacting with the host culture are work group problems as much as individual problems. Thus, training persons in the group as a unit is likely to be useful, particularly if the training includes group based social skills. Further, since the work group is seldom a cohort group (with the exceptions mentioned previously), there is usually the range of trainee experience with the overseas site that can be so effectively utilized in training. Because there is a constant turnover in work groups, however, the "one-shot" training possible with cohort groups would have to be replaced by a program of periodic training.

The family unit. For those Navy personnel assigned overseas who have families, training focused on the family unit has advantages of both a cohort unit (i.e., the family members are usually relocated pretty much together) and a work unit (i.e., the personnel spend a great deal of time overseas with their family, the family is a primary social support system for them, and the problems of adjusting to the overseas site and interacting with the host culture are frequently family problems). Training should focus, in part, upon cross-cultural skills which each of the family members need (Loewenthal & Snedden, 1981). They can aid each other in learning. That is, the family can provide a useful rehearsal and feedback environment for social skills training in an overseas context. At the same time, training should focus on skills for family intervention in stressful situations so that the social support functions of the family are maximized. This latter training is designed to maintain the family primarily as a source of support rather than the source of problems which it frequently can become as a product of relocation stress. Because training focused on the family also has a disadvantage of the cohort unit (i.e., relative

homogeneity of experience with the overseas site), actual training programs might focus on several families with varying degrees of experience and, as suggested for work groups, be offered periodically. In such a program, a given family might initially participate as newcomers, later participate during mid-tour of duty to help them deal with ongoing problems, and prior to departure to facilitate reentry and to utilize their experience to benefit incoming families.

Given the critical role the family can play overseas, the necessity of providing training to all family members and the probable utility of providing much of that training to the family as a unit should be stressed. The closest possible cooperation between the ODSP and the Family Support Program overseas in facilitating training focused on families would thus be desirable.

Specially defined units. Although cohort, work, and family units may be the primary support groups serving as candidates for training focus, in certain contexts (e.g., in some overseas sites) training might usefully focus on more specially defined units. These units might be based on ethnicity, sex, or special interests. Such a focus allows for more intensive and efficient training in skills particularly appropriate to the group and can also assist in converting the group into a support system through common experience in the training program. Such training specialization is particularly important since social skills training techniques may differ in emphasis for different ethnic, sex, or special interest groups because of differences in background, preferred learning styles, and social interaction strategies.

Tucker (1980) outlines key considerations in the planning and development of Black interaction groups that are not only somewhat specific to Blacks but also the context in which they are primarily involved, e.g., Blacks in predominantly White groups, Blacks in predominantly Black groups, or Blacks in heterogeneous groups. He suggests that Black group development should progress through: (1) a dependence and cognitive interaction phase, (2) an affective interaction phase, and (3) a spiritual bonding phase leading to new understandings, behaviors, and relational patterns congruent with the group goals. For our purposes, group goals would revolve around adjustment and effectiveness in overseas environments. He outlines key procedures appropriate to each phase. Developing a similar approach for other specially defined units would be a valuable training program objective.

Special interest units such as self or mutual help groups are also potential foci for overseas training. These groups are frequently organized to deal with problems of adjustment (e.g., substance abuse, family abuse, health problems, etc.) that are exacerbated during overseas relocation. Because of the specificity of overseas support content appropriate to their needs and the generally high motivation levels of the group members, training is likely to be particularly useful. In fact, one specific target of a self or mutual help group that could be useful is on Navy personnel and dependents who are having severe problems of adjustment. Specially focused training programs could be developed for such groups to enable them to provide continuing

support and overseas training beyond the basic overseas training program (see below). Silverman (1980) and Weiss (1976) provide guidelines for the development of such groups, the latter focusing particularly on target populations having difficulty with stress from transitional experiences.

#### Social Support Systems as a Source of Continuing Training

In addition to serving as a content and a context for basic overseas training, social support systems can also serve as a source of continuing training. The use of specially focused self or mutual help groups for that purpose was mentioned above. However, a broad range of social support systems including work, family, church, educational, or neighborhood groups can also continue to offer either formal training or informal orientation relevant to problems and opportunities of overseas duty beyond the basic training program. The literature is sparse on the existence of such programs--much less their effectiveness--probably because most are small and informal. Nevertheless, they have a rich potential. Continuing training could either be general or focused on problems or opportunities of specific concern to the group (e.g., cultural differences in educational systems, neighborhood or community responsibilities, religious beliefs, medical practices, management or organizational factors, etc.). Systems that include host country nationals are likely to be particularly effective. Special attention would be appropriately directed at providing cross-cultural training skills to key people in the systems that adapt a continuing training role and people responsible for assisting the systems (e.g., Family Service Center staff) (Nair, 1980). Thus, training does not have to be limited to formal time-limited programs. These latter programs can lay the groundwork for a variety of continuing training and orientation programs and social support systems can play a key role in these programs.

As this section on the roles of social support systems in overseas training has stressed, training is important but must occur in the context of a supportive social environment to be maximally effective. Further, skills in taking full advantage of that environment should be an important component of training programs. We have focused on diverse social support systems such as the family, the work organization, self-help groups, and close friendships. The following section deals more specifically with organizational factors of relevance to overseas assignment.

## V. ORGANIZATIONAL FACTORS IN OVERSEAS TRAINING

Most classifications of cross-cultural training emphasize training approaches with particular content related to specified groups of individuals who are designated for various types of overseas duty (e.g., Gudykunst et al., 1977). The large organizational context within which persons on overseas duty function is typically left unspecified and is among the least considered aspects of cross-cultural training. Higher ranking personnel and high impact personnel in particular, who are responsible for managing organizational levels of operation, may improve their own and others' performance by incorporating fuller understanding of these factors in their overseas orientation and training. There are several related literatures which would appear to be relevant for this purpose. This section will undertake a selective review of the theory and research on organizational boundary roles, stress in organizational settings, and cross-cultural differences in organizational contexts.

### Organizational Boundary Roles

There is an emerging literature on organizational boundary role processes which appear to have relevance to interpersonal bridging functions within and between organizations in the overseas setting. The change brought about in organizational environments which operate in different culture settings often requires creating new and unique roles, such as those involving managing transitions between the interactions of home culture-oriented and host culture organizational structures. Effective management of these differences in structure and operating style is pertinent to the goals of productive interaction between Navy and civilian work forces in new culture settings. The increasing interaction between military and civilian organizational structures involving transfer of services and information across the boundaries, hence the term, also suggests the value of closer consideration of the function of organizational boundary role behaviors for improved performance in the overseas environment. This is especially the case when new bases of operations are being created in previously unfamiliar culture settings (e.g., China, Indian Ocean).

The concept of organizational boundary roles has emerged from research on specialized role functions within complex organizations which have active and wide ranging interactions with their environments (Kahn, 1964; Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967). Organizational boundary roles are seen as particularly important in turbulent environments because the persons in these roles function as key elements in effective organization-environment transactions. A structural model of organizational boundary systems has been provided (Adams, 1976; Miles, 1980). In the model, it is possible to combine cultural factors with organizational factors and analyze boundary role behaviors.

Adams (1976) has identified three unique properties of boundary

role persons; they are (1) more distant psychologically, organizationally, and physically from co-workers and are closer to the external environment and agents of other organizations; (2) representatives of their organizations; and (3) the agents of influence over the external environment. All three of these properties are also characteristic of those personnel who function in various overseas diplomacy roles or in positions of primary interface in managing transactions for resources, services, and information from the overseas environment.

There are a number of factors which may be crucial for effective performance of organization boundary roles. Considered from the standpoint of distance from the organization, the boundary role person may have weaker bonds with supervisors and fellow workers. The proximity of the boundary role person to the external environment may generate suspicion and a desire to monitor their behavior. The boundary role person may have greater behavioral freedom in performing tasks, but there may also be greater anxiety about how performance is perceived by those in evaluative positions over them. Since boundary role persons function as representatives, they must engage in considerable impression management with regard to outsiders' perceptions of the organization. This includes representing the organization's preferences, needs, beliefs, attitudes, and norms at the same time that they must acquire knowledge of similar aspects of the external organizations with whom they are dealing. A dual representation task is required in which one's own organization is reflected outwardly, while the outside environment is reflected to the internal organization. Similarly, as an agent of influence, boundary role persons attempt to control the behavior of persons in other organizations and are also the target of influence attempts by counterparts from other organizations. There is an obvious parallel between boundary role persons in the formal organizational sense and those functions performed by personnel assigned the role functions of bridging and spanning cultures.

Miles (1980, p. 72) provides a more current review of organization boundary roles which includes a core typology of boundary-spanning activities:

#### Managing the "face" of the organization

Representing the organization. Presenting information about the organization to its external environment for the purpose of shaping the opinions and behaviors of other organizations, groups, or individuals in service of the focal organization.

Protecting the organization. Warding off external environmental pressures and influence attempts that otherwise might disrupt the ongoing operations and structures of the focal organization.

#### Processing environmental information

Scanning the external environment. Searching for and identifying changing or emerging environmental events and trends that might provide



threats or opportunities to the focal organization.

Monitoring the external environment. Tracking environmental trends or events that have been established as strategic contingencies (that is, definite or highly probable threats or opportunities) for the focal organization.

Gatekeeping environmental information. Translating and selectively communicating information about the external environment to key decision makers in the focal organization.

Managing relations with environmental elements

Transacting with external elements. Acquiring the resources needed by, or disposing of the outputs of, the focal organization.

Linking and coordinating. Establishing and maintaining relationships between the focal organization and important organizations, groups, or individuals in its external environment.

At the same time that organizational boundary roles are critical to organizational survival and growth, they create many stresses for the role incumbent. For example, boundary role persons are often involved in transactions which yield less than desired outcomes for which they are seen as responsible. They may be perceived as opponents or antagonists both from within and outside of the organization, and their loyalty to the organization may be questioned. These and other important aspects of boundary role processes engender conflicts for the role incumbent which are often difficult to resolve (Adams, 1976). Miles (1980) has been the most explicit in considering the research evidence bearing on both the positive and negative aspects of organizational boundary roles and stating them in sets of propositions. Only a few will be cited here to illustrate the similarity to ongoing processes in intercultural environments. These are noted in parentheses after each proposition.

On the negative side is a range of potentially stressful influences:

Proposition 1B: The stressfulness of organization boundary roles will increase to the extent that the boundary spanning-tasks performed are non-routine as opposed to routine in nature (p. 85). (The intercultural environment is almost by definition non-routine in that instrumental behaviors leading to resources, information, and services have to be altered and learned anew in order to meet survival goals.)

Proposition 1F: The stressfulness of organization boundary roles will increase to the extent that their occupants must cope on behalf of the organization or its units with complex, as opposed to simple, environmental conditions (p. 87). (The complexity of inter-

cultural environments in terms of discriminations and choices to be made regarding behaviors considered appropriate and effective is one of its chief characteristics.)

Proposition 1M: The stressfulness of organization boundary roles will increase to the extent that they are staffed by rigid as opposed to flexible incumbents (p. 88). (Although there may be some controversy about the predictive validity of global traits, e.g., rigidity-flexibility, for overseas success, there are undoubtedly person-centered variables such as motivation that relate to the experienced level of stress.)

On the positive side are the power and autonomy which boundary role incumbents acquire by having to cope with their tasks:

Proposition 2C: The power and autonomy of organization boundary roles will increase to the extent that the boundary-spanning tasks performed are active as opposed to passive in their implications for organizational change (p. 90). (The degree of penetration of the surrounding culture in an overseas setting may have a significant bearing on identifying potential disruptions of, or alternatives to, the usual sources of information, services, and resources.)

Proposition 2D: The power and autonomy of organization boundary roles will increase to the extent that the boundary-spanning tasks performed require the maintenance of important long-term relationships as opposed to single encounters (p. 90). (The culture-mediator role played by more experienced residents of a culture has been noted frequently, but the power that accrues to military personnel under varying conditions of enduring relationship is uncertain and may be mitigated somewhat by regular transfers.)

Proposition 2E: The power and autonomy of organization boundary roles will increase to the extent that their occupants must cope on behalf of the organization or its units with complex, as opposed to simple, environmental conditions (p. 91). (By corollary with the negative effects of boundary role functions specified in Proposition 1F, there may be interpersonal benefits to being the intercultural mediator, primarily from the reliance by others on one to facilitate transactions. As a result, the mediator is a focus of attention and is often given a good deal of status.)

There is an obvious parallel between boundary role functions in the more formal sense of the organization and these functions as performed by personnel assigned the tasks of bridging and spanning cultures. At the same time that they are central to organizational survival and effective functioning, they create many stresses for the role incumbents. Both the advantages and disadvantages of the boundary role functions are increased in the task-oriented overseas settings. The order of complexity is undoubtedly greater when one is engaged in intercultural contacts; one's performance may be crucial for organizational effectiveness. Conceived of as cultural interface management,

the complexity of boundary role functions in overseas settings has probably not been adequately appreciated in its implications for cross-cultural training, particularly that of high impact personnel.

### Stress in Organizational Settings

The literature on stress and performance in organizational settings has grown considerably in the last decade (e.g., Cooper & Payne, 1978, 1980), yet there has been little application of findings to the types of problems encountered in intercultural work settings. One of the clear conclusions is that the work setting is itself a source of stress at the same time that it provides supportive coping resources to combat stress (Payne, 1980). It appears that the work group provides many benefits besides facilitating individual task performance and career achievement and for many people has become a major source of personal identity. Coelho et al. (1980) argue that the challenge of adaptation lies not only in the learning of individual coping skills but also in the functioning of social arrangements for preserving and creating institutions which support the collaborative management of life tasks.

McGrath (1976) provides one of the more detailed analyses of stress in organizational settings. His model combines a four-stage, three-cycle process operating in three organizationally embedded systems (task, role, behavior setting) with six classes of stressful situations (task-based, role-based, behavior setting based, etc.). While it is not necessary to consider this model in detail, it is important to recognize it as depicting the complexity of interrelationships between task, role, and behavior setting. The various combinations of stress and coping responses that are generated under these conditions provide a high possibility for mismatch and resulting lack of effectiveness. McGrath describes the use of various ineffective coping strategies, such as using a task-based response (e.g., increasing or decreasing the work load) to a role-based stress (e.g., discomfort with authority positions) as typical of failure to understand the complexity of organizational factors in stress, and McMichael (1978) has indicated the complex interaction between personality, behavioral, and social-situational modifiers of stress. Cultural discontinuity in work settings produces many social-situation stressors, one of the common ones being the inability of the person to obtain meaningful information which indicates that actions are leading to desired consequences. This is exactly the type of problem that often occurs in multicultural work settings.

Among the stressors identified by McGrath (1976), role-based stressors would seem to be of greatest importance for consideration from an intercultural perspective. McGrath draws on the now classic Kahn (1964) study which identified two prominent forms of role-based stress in organizations (i.e., role conflict and role ambiguity). These role-based stressors are likely to be compounded in cross-cultural work settings because the failed expectations which underlie role

conflict and role ambiguity are greatly multiplied. Both role conflict and role ambiguity create personal tensions, lowered self-esteem, and reduced interpersonal attraction among co-workers. Graen (1976) has discussed the function of role-making in this regard, indicating the processes by which a newcomer progresses to become a role incumbent among an interdependent group of workers. This process is considered highly typical of complex organizations which need to develop new organizational forms to handle increasingly transient work forces. The transitions required of work forces that change cultures and need to adapt to new environmental contingencies to facilitate performance are highly similar. Fried (1980) has pointed the failure to alter role activities by modifying conceptions of role functions, negotiating changes in role relationships, or reconsidering role investments as typical of much psychosocial adaptation in high change conditions. In the overseas setting, such failure of adaptation may have many negative consequences.

What is important about the various trends of research on stress in organizational settings is that complex models of people in the work setting exist which have as yet untapped potential for improving productivity in the overseas duty setting. It is commonly observed that not only do the various duty settings differ in the degree of contact with the local culture, but that a variety of organizational factors also differ. The next section will deal more specifically with these issues, centering on the important concept of "organization as culture." As with ideas already discussed, we are proposing topics which could be covered in a cross-cultural training program.

### Organizations as Cultures

Organizations may be viewed as cultures with unique social groupings, rule systems, peculiar languages, legitimate activities, and value systems related to the central task of the organization. Military organizations operating in different countries are no exception. Military personnel know that some things about the military will be the same no matter where they are stationed, yet each base has different characteristics. Changing duty settings means that personnel have to learn the new culture of the duty setting, as well as the local environment in which it is located.

Cross-cultural problems faced by military personnel when moved to a new duty setting occur on two levels: (1) the interface problem between the individual and the new duty setting as a culture; and (2) the relationship between military personnel and the external environments or cultural entities with which they must deal both socially and as part of military operations. Casse (1977) observed these problems among World Bank personnel and the external environment; United Nations staff have noted the same problems in the U.N. system. Employees in organizations having multicultural staffs residing in culturally different environments often lack awareness that the organization of which they are a part and their interactions with

members of other organizations are cross-cultural in nature.

Detecting organizational cultures and learning to function effectively in a new organizational setting are essential skills in adjustment to a new duty assignment. There has been considerable progress in the last fifteen years in identifying indicators for determining the culture of an organization and how to adjust to organizational structures in various cultures (e.g., Harris & Moran, 1979; Jay, 1971; Nadler, 1969; Rhinesmith, 1970; Terpstra, 1978; Tichy, 1979; Weiland & Ullrich, 1977). We will refer to these indicators as specification, standardization, and formalization of the task environment, configuration of the role and situation dimensions, and nature of the internal and external environments.

Specification of the task environment. Organizations differ in the way that they specify the various jobs designed to accomplish the mission of the organization. On one end of the continuum are organizations which specify job descriptions in detail and in writing. On the other end of the continuum are organizations which state jobs in very general terms, usually based on the general mission of the organization. It is typically through a series of verbal interactions with leaders and peers, instead of a written job description and procedure manual that one learns what is acceptable or not acceptable performance.

Task specification indicates the degree of task complexity, difficulty, and ambiguity which is present in an organization and is one of the first areas organizational development specialists investigate (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Lammers & Hickson, 1979; Mintzberg, 1981; Peltz & Andrews, 1976; Pugh, 1976; Pugh, Hickson, & Hinings, 1969).

Two related areas of investigation are the specification of the task as reflected in policies and in actual procedures. Job descriptions may indicate tasks which appear to be fairly straightforward, and low in complexity and difficulty. Yet, upon analyzing the organization's policies and procedures, the task may be bounded by so many constraints that productivity and effectiveness are reduced and personal stress is maximized.

Formalization of the task environment. When an organization markedly distinguishes between classes of jobs, the organization is said to have a high degree of job formality. In high formality organizations, there tends to be a marked separation in who is allowed to do what. If one is given a certain title, one is expected to behave in certain ways and perform certain functions. Therefore, organizational cultures differ in how they distinguish what is to be done and by whom. The anthropological literature suggests that socially legitimized separations of behaviors and the assigning of behaviors to different types of individuals is one of the key differences which exist among cultures.

Standardization of the task environment. Organizations differ in their orientation toward conformity in task performance. Some organizations seek to standardize all jobs irrespective of the nature of the job. Others standardize some job levels and not others. The range of appropriate ways that a task can be done is usually indicated in the organization's policies and procedures. The more formal jobs become (i.e., jobs described in writing), the more likely the tendency of develop higher degrees of standardization of tasks (Mintzberg, 1981; Pugh, 1976).

Based on an investigation of structural differences, Pugh et al. (1969) concluded that organizations high on specialization, standardization, and formalization of task environments also tended to move towards higher degrees of regulation of the work of its employees and the structuring of its activities. The intended behavior of employees was structured by the specification of their specialized roles, the procedures they were to follow in carrying out those roles, and the documentation of what they had to do.

A dimension of standardization of tasks which is highly cultural is the organization's task timing, sequencing, and priority-setting behaviors. Cultures differ in their notion of time and what is expected to be done during a period of time as well as the order and the relative importance of certain task performances. Conflicts can occur among personnel from cultures which use time differently and which may often be typical of military personnel and members of host cultures.

Configuration of roles. The internal differentiation and patterning of relationships comprise the social structure of the organization (Thompson, 1967). Each organization must decide to group its members in social units which are best for achieving the central purposes of the organization.

The role configuration which an organization chooses will determine to a large extent the types of formally recognized internal interdependencies among individuals. Thompson (1967) suggests several types of interdependence including pooled, sequential, and reciprocal. Pooled interdependence exists where each part renders a discrete contribution to the organization, and each is supported by the organization. The action of one (individual or unit) is not dependant upon the action of another in order to proceed with one's work, so long as the organization remains viable and the environment does not change rapidly.

Sequential interdependence takes a serial form in which each position in a work grouping must be readjusted if any one of them acts improperly or fails to meet expectations. Usually organizations with sequential interdependent units have some form of back up or contingency system in case one unit does not perform.

The third and most complex type of interdependence according to Thompson is reciprocal interdependence. In such situations, the actions

of one individual or unit directly affects the actions of another. In reciprocal interdependent situations, the work of one unit may be the resource necessary for another unit to do its job.

In situations of interdependence, concerted action is accomplished through coordination. There are various approaches to coordination from which an organization can choose. It appears that the choice should be based on: (1) the type of interdependencies that exist or might exist among organizational members in order to effectively perform their work, (2) the nature of the task, (3) the nature of the environment, and (4) cultural variations in attitudes towards basic concepts of management, such as authority relationships, responsibility, accountability, rewards and recognition systems, timing, and sequencing of procedures, and degree of interaction formality considered appropriate for status differences. Haire, Ghiselli, and Porter (1966), Harris and Moran (1979), Hofstede (1980a, 1980b), and Peterson (1972) have all described cultural and national variations in management, attitudes, and approaches.

The nature of the external environment. The external environment of the organization has been characterized as being static or dynamic (e.g., Cyert & March, 1963; Handy, 1976; Mintzberg, 1981; Schein, 1972; Terpstra, 1978). The static/dynamic characteristic indicates the climate of competition among similar organizations to provide goods and/or services to a same group of people. In static environments, the organization usually does not have much competition with other organizations, and bureaucratic functions operate quite well (Mintzberg, 1981). Dynamic environments demand more change or adjustment from the organization because more than one organization is doing the same types of things for the same target group. Dynamic environments create pressure on the organization to provide a continual flow of innovative, high quality, and well-targeted sets of goods and/or services.

Members of organizations in dynamic environments must have the competence to be able to detect change in the environment and adjust organizational behaviors and attitudes, such as changing mission statements, policies, procedures, redesigning the configuration of roles, and redesigning the services rendered.

External environments have also been described as hostile or supportive with relation to the influence and power which externally significant groups exert on the organization (e.g., Cyert & March, 1963; Dahl, 1961; Lauman & Pappi, 1975; Leavitt, 1951; Likert, 1961; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1977). A hostile environment is a threat to the organization because the external groups have either people or things (power sources) which enable them to affect the process whereby the attitudes, beliefs, and/or behaviors of people within the organization are modified (i.e., the influence process).

External supportive influence groups also exert power on the organization. A major source of support is through communication of endorsement of the organization's actions among a network of various

external groups, and through contribution of resources to its operation (Tichy, 1979).

Military organizations which are located in hostile or supportive environments will, of course, operate differently. Personnel will find adjustment more difficult in hostile environments because of heightened threat and the use of external power to make it more difficult to operate and integrate in the community. In hostile environments, people tend to send misinformation and do not give the help necessary for a person to learn these cultural differences needed for adjustment. There is often a fear that candid information supplied to newcomers will be perceived as derogatory by hosts.

Olmstead (1974) postulated that organizational competence defined as the processes used by organizational systems to cope with their environments is a major determinant of organizational effectiveness. According to Olmstead, competence is the ability of the organization to perform the critical operational functions that lead to the achievement of effectiveness.

The ability of an organization to maintain competence under change and pressure from its environments is also clearly related to its ability to sustain effectiveness.

Based on Bennis (1966) and Schein's (1972) previous work on the ingredients of organizational health, Olmstead, Christensen, and Lackey (1973) defined organizational competence as having the following components:

1. Reality testing (Bennis, 1966): the capacity to test the reality of situations facing the organization--the ability of the organization to search out, accurately perceive, and correctly interpret the properties and characteristics of its environments (both internal and external), particularly those properties which have relevance for the functioning of the organization.
2. Adaptability (Bennis, 1966): the capacity to solve problems arising from changing environmental demands and to cope with effective flexibility in response to these changing demands.
3. Integration (Schein, 1972): the maintenance of structure and function under stress and of a state of relations among subunits such that coordination is maintained and the various subunits do not work at cross purposes.

In an attempt to measure these broad components of organizational competence, Olmstead used Schein's adaptive-coping cycle to investigate military operations. The seven-fold adaptive-coping cycle as employed by Olmstead (1974, pp. 160-161) is as follows:

1. Sensing: the process of acquiring information about the external and internal environments by the organization.



2. Communicating information: the process of transmitting information that is sensed to those parts of the organization that can act upon it.
3. Decision making: the process of making decisions concerning actions to be taken as a result of sensed information.
4. Stabilizing: the process of taking actions to maintain internal stability and integration which might otherwise be disrupted as a consequence of actions taken to cope with changes in the organization's environments.
5. Communicating implementation: the process of transmitting decisions and decision related orders and instructions to those parts of the organization that must implement them.
6. Coping actions: the process of executing actions against an environment (internal or external) as a consequence of an organizational decision.
7. Feedback: the process of determining the results of a prior action through further sensing of the external and internal environment.

Organizations through its members must engage in unified action in an environment that presents continuously uncertain situations. Ultimately, much of an organization's effectiveness is reduced to the ability of its leaders (collectively and individually) to make appropriate judgments and take appropriate actions. Yet organizations tend towards regulated procedures and formal responses. Where leaders rely too much upon such mechanisms to meet the demands of a rapidly changing environment and the demands of uncertain, unusual, and unanticipated situations, the organization is less competent and less effective by most criteria of effectiveness.

Summary propositions. Tichy (1979, pp. 26-27) summarizes the major points to be considered when viewing organizations as cultures and interacting with different cultures.

1. Organizations vary in their degree of ideological congruence which is defined as the degree of consistency among organizational members with regard to their cultural values as applied to work settings.
2. As cultural incongruence increases, so does the need for increased amounts of cultural adjustment and hence the need for greater organizational capacity for dealing with cultural variations.
3. Different organizational configurations (networks, people, processes) have varying capabilities for facilitating cultural adjustments. People's basic philosophy of the nature of man and what is needed to motivate him lies at the heart of organizational configurations.
4. Organizations will manage the cultural adjustment process and be more effective from a cultural perspective to the extent that there is a match between the cultural incongruencies facing the organization and the cultural adjustment capacity of the organization's components.

5. When there is a poor match between cultural incongruence and the cultural adjustment capacity in the organization, there are two basic options for changing the situation. One is to change either the environment or the diversity of people in the organization. This option is exercised when an organization develops selection criteria which lead to very homogeneous populations of workers. The second option is to adjust the fit between cultural adjustment demands and the organization's cultural adjustment capacity. With the second option, there must be a shift to increased capacity for managing cultural differences, to orienting people toward effective cross-cultural interpersonal relations in work settings, to assisting them to be cultural detectors of difference, and to respond with appropriate actions within culturally different situations.
6. Adjustments are required over time as new cultural incongruencies emerge from interaction of the organization with its external environment.

#### Applications of Organizational Factors to Cross-Cultural Training for Navy Personnel

The selective review of boundary role processes, stress in organizations, and organizations as cultures suggests additional types of cross-cultural training for Navy personnel, especially command and high impact personnel who manage organizational factors and mediate between Navy and indigenous organizations. The following training objectives are among the major kinds of competencies which might be developed:

1. In situations of task complexity or increased work loads, there is a tendency to fall back on home culture values, beliefs, and rules for behavior. In multicultural overseas settings, high pressure periods are filled with the most potential for intercultural conflict. Training exercises could be designed with the aim of increasing people's ability to assess cultural differences in high stress work situations and to respond in effective ways.
2. A person's cultural background has trained them to observe certain things in their environment and disregard other things. In multicultural work settings, conflict can occur and poor decisions can be made because personnel are not observing important, culturally different cues. Training could be designed to increase competence in observing culturally different organizational environments and in making correct attributions about work attitudes and motives.
3. Most personnel do not adequately assess their work group interdependencies or the role configurations that influence individual and group productivity. Navy management personnel would probably benefit from training aimed at increasing their ability to identify the nature of the task environment

within their particular area of Navy operations and to assess the cultural value differences among personnel relative to beliefs about appropriate work group arrangements, authority relationships, decision making, accountability, responsibility, and control relationships.

4. Certain people can be very helpful in acting as mediators between culturally different groups. Navy personnel who show signs of intercultural competence could be given additional training in skills for identifying and building supportive community groups. These links to the community could in turn act as natural avenues through which Navy personnel could learn about and interact more effectively with community groups.

#### Illustrations of Cross-Cultural Training Content for Organizational Factors

It should be stressed that the content of cross-cultural training for organizational factors is probably most appropriate for Navy personnel in command or high impact positions. The content of greatest value in this regard is probably in the area of organizational diagnosis and organizational design, but the focus on these categories is not to be taken as a de-emphasis of intercultural competence in person-to-person interactions.

Multicultural organization diagnosis. A variety of organizational assessment instruments are available with which to diagnose work-related differences in a multicultural organization. The organizational dimensions instrument developed by Bowers and Franklin (1977) which is already in use among many Navy organizations could be adapted for this purpose, and the Questionnaire on Cross-Cultural Management Perspectives (Harris & Moran, 1979) could also serve this purpose. An instrument that was designed to measure cultural variations in work-related values in forty different countries may prove particularly useful (Hofstede, 1980) since it includes many regions of the world where the Navy has major ports (e.g., Spain, Italy, Japan, Philippines). The dimensions of power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and masculinity derived from this instrument may be helpful in preparing high impact and command personnel for managing intercultural work situations involving motivation, leadership, and decision making differences. Although these may not present major obstacles to organizational effectiveness within a relatively homogeneous Navy organization, they almost always are a source of conflict and require increased management expertise to handle effectively in multicultural organizations, such as might be found in a number of overseas duty settings. For example, based on his survey data, Hofstede (1980, p. 376) described the motivation of different cultural groups by a four-fold classification:

1. Motivation by person, individual success in the form of wealth, recognition, and "self-actualization" (e.g., U.S.A., England, and their former colonies).

2. Motivation by personal, individual security resulting especially in hard work (e.g., Japan, German-speaking countries, Greece, and some Latin countries).
3. Motivation by security and belonging with individual wealth less important than group solidarity (e.g., France, Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Chile, and some other Latin and Asian countries).
4. Motivation by success and belonging, measured partly as collective success and in the quality of human relationships and the living environment (e.g., North European countries and Netherlands).

Similar distinctions can be made about the leadership factors which are most effective when leaders and subordinates have culturally different preferred leader-subordinate interaction styles. The positive characteristics attributed to leaders may thus vary with different countries (e.g., France: persuasive-paternalistic; Great Britain: persuasive-paternalistic or consultative; Germany: participative). The main point for cross-cultural training is that with prior knowledge of motivational differences and preferred leader-subordinate relations, the overseas duty organization's effectiveness may be greatly enhanced and costly conflicts may be avoided. Unfortunately, the prevailing organizational models (or at least the models of human behavior which underlie organizational behavior theory) have largely neglected cultural factors in their formulations.

Training for culturally relativistic perspectives in organizational behavior and equipping high impact and command personnel with methods for clearly identifying cultural variations in work-related behaviors could be highly beneficial. Even though many of these personnel have management training and organizational development backgrounds, the models with which they have been trained are culture-bound and "cultural transposition" is required to make considerations of motivation, leadership, and decision making behaviors applicable in the multicultural work setting. Although this might suggest that management personnel would have to become fully bicultural or multicultural to perform effectively, Hofstede (1980) suggests that what is necessary is a task-related biculturality with regard to the essential tasks of the multicultural work setting. This is probably the most that can reasonably be expected given the relatively short duty assignments of Navy personnel.

Multicultural organization design. Insofar as organizational factors involving concentration of authority and structuring of work activities can be varied in different overseas duty settings, high impact and command personnel may enhance organizational effectiveness by considering organizational design factors in cross-cultural training. The preferred organizational structure and the implicit models of work activities with which multicultural work forces carry out their jobs could have a major bearing on overall unit performance. Hofstede (1980, p. 384) suggested that cultural norms in the form of work attitudes affected organizational structures and provided the following typology:

1. Southeast Asian countries: a "personnel bureaucracy" in which relationships among people are hierarchical, with relatively uncoded work flow, and an implicit "family" model to guide work.
2. Latin and Mediterranean countries: a "full bureaucracy" with rigidly prescribed relationships among people and work processes, and an implicit "pyramid" model to guide work.
3. German-speaking countries and Israel: a "work flow bureaucracy" with rigidly prescribed work processes but not relationships between people, and an implicit "well-oiled machine" model to guide work.
4. Anglo and Nordic countries, plus the Netherlands: an "implicitly structured" organization with little rigid prescription of either work processes or relations among people, and an implicit "village market" model to guide work.

The essential goal of targeted training for organizational design purposes in relation to multicultural work forces would be to bring about those feasible changes in Navy organizational structure which might increase effectiveness in the overseas duty setting. The major problems in doing this are that sophisticated backgrounds may be required to make good use of such training, and the practice of organizational design for multicultural organizations is not well developed. However, it may be possible to increase task-related biculturality for those situations in which information, services, and resources are required from the external environment by creating cross-cultural training programs which use a combination of traditional training methods (e.g., Culture Assimilator; critical incidents) focused on specialized content, such as intercultural negotiation and bargaining.

Adaptations of other training methods not typically considered part of cross-cultural training could also be considered. Stein and Kanter (1980) describe the use of experiential social techniques to learn about the structural features of organizations. This approach might be particularly useful for increased understanding of organizational structure as implied by the typology of preferred organizational types in different world regions described by Hofstede (1980). Insofar as organizational structure, like culture, often constrains or enables the behaviors of its members, it could prove highly beneficial to teach rudimentary multicultural organization design principles through the various methods described by Stein (e.g., natural, simulated, gaming, reflective). Each has advantages and disadvantages which would have to be considered for the specialized purposes of cross-cultural training.

The essential goal of multicultural organization design training would be to expand the attributional process so that organizational levels of understanding in new culture settings were added to complement individual and interpersonal levels of interaction. Focusing on organizational factors may be especially helpful to those persons whose specialized roles place them in highly stressful intercultural negotiation situations or who must manage the boundaries between Navy organizations and the local environment. The core typology of boundary spanning activities described by Miles (1980) is undoubtedly complicated

by limited knowledge of both the external cultural environment and interorganizational relations between Navy and indigenous organizations.

The cross-cultural training described in previous sections of this report may have positive influences on individual overseas duty adjustment and productivity, but skillful use of cross-cultural understanding of organizational structures may have an even greater influence on collective performance and increase organizational competence as described by Olmstead (1974). Although their tasks may not have been defined as such, command and high impact personnel in overseas duty settings perform as boundary role persons. The stress on them may be greatly compounded in managing interactions with an external cultural environment that may be poorly understood and is oftentimes potentially hostile. Managing leader-subordinate relations and structuring work activities with recognition of cultural differences in role behaviors may enhance productivity, morale, and tour satisfaction, and may also lessen stress for both host culture and Navy personnel.

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